# THE LIFE

OF

# BARON FREDERIC TRENCK.

VOL. I.

BRITISH MUSEUM

# THE LIFE

OF

# BARON FREDERIC TRENCK;

CONTAINING

## *HIS ADVENTURES;*

HIS CRUEL AND EXCESSIVE

SUFFERINGS DURING TEN YEARS' IMPRISONMENT

AT THE FORTRESS OF MAGDEBURG,

BY COMMAND OF THE

## LATE KING OF PRUSSIA.

ALSO

## *ANECDOTES,*

## HISTORICAL, POLITICAL, AND PERSONAL.

Tranſlated from the German,

BY

THOMAS HOLCROFT.

COMPLETE IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

*The Third Edition.*

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR G. G. AND J. ROBINSON, PATERNOSTER-ROW.

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1800.

# THE LIFE

OF

# BARON FREDERIC TRENCK;

CONTAINING

## HIS ADVENTURES,

HIS CURIOUS AND SINGULAR

SUFFERINGS DURING HIS FOUR YEARS' IMPRISONMENT

AT THE FORTRESS OF MAGDEBURG,

BY ORDER OF

## FREDERICK THE GREAT, KING OF PRUSSIA.

ALSO

## ANECDOTES,

HISTORICAL, POLITICAL, AND PERSONAL,

OF

Translated from the German,

BY

## THOMAS HOLCROFT.

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VOL. I.

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LONDON:

Printed for G. G. and J. ROBINSON, Paternoster-Row.

1794.

## *EXPLANATION OF THE PLATE,*

REPRESENTING

THE BARON LOADED WITH FETTERS IN PRISON.

Round the neck was a collar of iron of a hand's breadth, to the ring of which the chains and their whole weight were pendent. The chains he was obliged to ſuſtain with one hand day and night, or he would have been in danger of being ſtrangled.

Above the elbows were two irons, to which a chain was fixed, behind his back, that paſſed up to the neck-collar. Theſe, however, were removed a month after they were firſt put on, when the Baron fell ill.

A broad iron rim was riveted round his body, between which and the bar that ſeparated his hands was another chain.

The bar, two feet in length, was ironed to the hand-cuffs, ſo that he could only bring the end of his fingers in contact.

The chains were fixed to a thick iron ſtaple in the wall.

A triple row of chains deſcended to the right foot, and the whole weight, the projecting neck-collar acting as a lever, was enormous.

Under the ſtaple was a ſeat of bricks; on the oppoſite ſide a water jug. Beneath the feet of the Baron was his tomb-ſtone, with the name TRENCK carved, and a death's-head.

# EXPLANATION OF THE PLATE.

## THE BARON LOADED WITH FETTERS IN PRISON.

Round the neck was a collar of iron on a hand's breadth, to the ring of which the chains and their whole weight were pedected. The chains he was obliged to sustain with one hand day and night, or he would have been in danger of being strangled.

Above the elbows were two irons, to which a chain was fixed, behind his back, that pulled up to the neck-collar. These, however, were removed a month after they were first put on, when the Baron fell ill.

A broad iron ring was rivetted round his body, between which and the bar that separated his hands was another chain.

The bar, two feet in length, was joined to the handcuffs, so that he could only bring the end of his fingers in contact.

The chains were fixed to a thick iron staple in the wall.

A triple row of chains defcended to the right foot, and the whole weight, the projecting neck-collar acting as a lever, was enormous.

Under the staple was a flat of bricks; on the opposite side a water jug. Beneath the feet of the Baron was his tomb stone, with the name FRANCK carved, and a death's-head.

# ADVERTISEMENT.

IN order to reduce the price, the preſent edition has been more cloſely printed; and the four volumes of a former edition are wholly compriſed in the preſent three. The firſt three volumes of the former edition were tranſlated by Mr. Holcroft, and conclude at page 65 of the third volume of this edition; and there is good reaſon to hope that the reader will be ſatisfied with the tranſlation of the remainder, it having been made by a gentleman who is very converſant with the German language.

# ADVERTISEMENT.

IN order to reduce the price, the present edition has been more closely printed; and the four volumes of a former edition are wholly comprised in the present three. The first three volumes of the former edition were translated by Mr. Holcroft, and conclude at page 65 of the third volume of this edition; and there is good reason to hope, that the reader will be satisfied with the translation of the remainder, it having been made by a gentleman who is very conversant with the German language.

# PREFACE

## BY THE TRANSLATOR.

*THERE have been two authentic editions of the following work in the German language:—The first, printed at Vienna; the second, at Berlin. Each of these has been mutilated, in certain places, by the censor, as it may be presumed, of each city; such being the practice, in most of the European states, with works much less free than the Life of Baron Trenck. In general, however, they agree; and the miracle is, that a book, so boldly written, should have been licensed. No stronger proof can be urged of its authenticity.*

*The Life of Baron Trenck is, in point of composition, a work of so extraordinary a nature, that greater liberties must be taken, of omitting and compressing passages, in the translation of this, than would, perhaps, be found necessary in any other work, so well worthy of translation. The author's haste, his daring spirit, his lively imagination, and his sensibility of heart,*

*were*

*were qualities so ill adapted to the cool and clear explanation of affairs so intricate, so oppressive, and which so evidently preyed upon his mind, as those of his Vienna law-suits, in the military court of Kriegsrath, that his repetitions, complaints, remonstrances, appeals to the heart, execrations against injustice, and the desponding consolation he found in his own honour and honesty, are unceasing. Surely, however, they are not unmoving; they are often beautiful, often sublime; and, therefore, have often been retained. Sometimes they are omitted or contracted.*

*The preface and dedication in the first volume are not inserted, because they consist only of the same thoughts, conveyed in nearly the same words, which are so much dwelt upon in the work.*

*The dedication has the singularity of being addressed to the Ghost of Frederick, late King of Prussia, but contains nothing else of novelty. Some passages are suppressed, the omission of which, when read in the original, will need no apology. The Baron had lived in the corrupt school of* Frederick the Great, *and had acquired strange ideas on certain subjects*, there dignified by the epithet Philosophy; al-*

* See Vol. II. page 66, of the edition printed at Vienna; and Vol. II. page 56, of that at Berlin.

*though*

*though he preserved the manly sense, even in that court, to abhor its Ganymedes, and thereby to incur denunciation of vengeance from the monarch.*

*The man of feeling, and the friend of freedom, will read this work with sensations perhaps too strong: it will remain an eternal monument of the dreadful, the detestable, the diabolical effects of despotism.*

*The historian will acquire from it essential information concerning the characters of persons, courts, and kingdoms, highly illustrative of the annals of the present century.*

*The philosopher will meditate on the manners of the people of Germany; will wonder, while reading, to recollect that there, as in states more improved, such numbers should remain so, almost miraculously, ignorant, superstitious, and credulous, while knowledge and science appear to be so far advanced; will sigh to be so repeatedly told of military courts, and judges condemned to sweep the streets, after effecting the ruin of thousands; will incessantly reflect, with amazement at the strange jargon and confusion that still are so universal over the globe, as he reads the words king, liberty, vassal, military sentence, property, just claim, and an infinity of other heterogeneous and incompatible phrases; continually will he exclaim*

—How

*—How many ages, yet, oh world, muſt thou exiſt, ere thy ſons ſhall indeed learn wiſdom!*

*The book is what it ſhould be, the perfect reſemblance of its author—an original, bold, and intereſting picture. Like him, it has its defects; but they are forgotten in the admiration of its inherent and maſculine beauties.*

# *THE LIFE*

OF

# BARON TRENCK.

I WAS born at Königsberg in Prussia, February 16, 1726, of one of the most ancient families of the country. My father, who was a knight of the military order, lord of Great Scharlack, Schakulack, and Meicken, and major-general of cavalry, died in 1740, after having received eighteen wounds in the Prussian service. My mother, descended from the house of Derschau, was daughter of the president of the high court at Königsberg: she had two brothers, generals of infantry, and a third minister of state, and postmaster-general at Berlin. After my father's death in 1740, she

ſhe married Count Loſtange, lieutenant-colonel in the Kiow regiment of cuiraſſiers, with whom, leaving Pruſſia, ſhe went and reſided at Breſlaw. I had two brothers and a ſiſter: my youngeſt brother was taken, by my mother, into Sileſia: the other was a cornet in this laſt-named regiment of Kiow; and my ſiſter was married to the only ſon of the aged General Valdow, who quitted the ſervice, and with whom ſhe lived, in Brandenburg, on his eſtates.

My anceſtors, both of the male and female line, are famous in the chronicles of the North, among the ancient Teutonic knights, who conquered Courland, Pruſſia, and Livonia.

I ſeek not, by this recital, to gain eſtimation, much leſs to vaunt of the accident of noble birth, which, when unſupported by a noble mind, I hold in ſovereign contempt.

My reaſon for inſiſting on this circumſtance is, that it has been conteſted and denied by ſome, who deem high birth to be the only teſt and ſtandard of merit.

I write

I write not, however, to a circle ſo narrow or ill-judging, but to the liberal, and the wiſe; to the world at large; hoping my ſtory may afford uſeful leſſons of morality, inſpiring patience, hope, and fortitude. Enough therefore of, and for ever adieu, to my noble anceſtry: what I have ſaid is ſufficient to reſcue my children from all pretended obloquy; to ſhow they are not vaſſals born; and, as I truſt, to inſpire them with emulation, remembering the examples left by their forefathers, and that their name is Trenck.

By temperament I was choleric, and addicted to pleaſure and diſſipation: my tutors found this laſt defect moſt difficult to overcome; happily, they were aided by a love of knowledge inherent in me, an emulative ſpirit, and a thirſt of fame, which diſpoſition it was my father's care to cheriſh. A too great conſciouſneſs of innate worth gave me a too great degree of pride; but the endeavours of my inſtructor to inſpire humility were not all loſt; and habitual reading, well-timed praiſe, and the pleaſures

flowing from ſcience, made the labours of ſtudy at length my recreation.

My memory became remarkable: I was well read in the holy ſcriptures, the claſſics, and ancient hiſtory; was intimately acquainted with geography; could draw accurately, and learnt fencing, riding, and other neceſſary exerciſes.

My religion was Lutheran; but morality, and not ſuperſtitious bigotry, or childiſh fears, was taught me by my father, and by the worthy man to whoſe care he committed the forming of my heart, whoſe memory I ſhall ever hold in veneration. While a boy, I was enterpriſing in all the tricks of boys, and exerciſed my wit in crafty excuſes: the warmth of my paſſions, then and afterward, gave a ſatyric biting caſt to my writings, whence it has been imagined, by thoſe who knew but little of me, I was a dangerous man; though, I am conſcious, this was a haſty and falſe judgment.

A ſoldier himſelf, my father would have all his ſons the ſame: thus, when we quarrelled, we were not admitted to terminate

our

our diſputes in the common way, but were provided with wooden ſabres, ſheathed with leather, and, brandiſhing theſe, conteſted by blows for victory, while our father ſat laughing, pleaſed at our valour and addreſs. This practice, and the praiſes he beſtowed, had the bad effect of encouraging a diſpoſition, which, with paſſions like mine, ought carefully to have been counteracted.

Covetous of praiſe, and accuſtomed to obtain the prize, and be the hero of ſcholaſtic contentions, I acquired alſo the bad habit of diſputation, and of imagining myſelf a ſage when little more than a boy. I became ſtubborn in argument; haſty to correct others, inſtead of patiently attentive; and, by my preſumption, continually liable to incite enmity.

Gentle to my inferiors, but impatient of contradiction, and proud of reſiſting power, I may hence date the origin of all my evils. The abhorrence which I had of deſpotiſm, and its abuſes, for the ſilent acquieſcence in which my education and book-taught prin-

ciples but ill fitted me, was an additional cauſe.

How might a man, however great his talents, imbued with the heroic principles of liberty, hope advancement and happineſs under the deſpotic and iron government of Frederic? I was taught neither to know nor to avoid, but to deſpiſe, the whip of ſlavery. Had I learnt hypocriſy, craft, and meanneſs, I had long ſince become field-marſhal, had been in quiet poſſeſſion of my vaſt Hungarian eſtates, and had not paſſed the beſt years of my life in the dungeons of Magdeburg. I was addicted to no vice; I laboured in the cauſe of ſcience, honour, and virtue; kept no vicious company; was never, during the whole courſe of my life, once intoxicated; was no gameſter, no conſumer of time in idleneſs nor brutal pleaſures; but devoted many hundred laborious nights to ſtudies that might make me uſeful to my country; yet was I puniſhed with a ſeverity too cruel even for the moſt worthleſs or moſt villainous.

I mean,

I mean, in my narrative, to make candour and veracity my guides, and never to conceal or ſcreen my failings: I wiſh my work may remain an inſtructive and moral leſſon to the world. Yet is it an innate and inexpreſſible ſatisfaction, that I am conſcious of never having acted with guilt or diſhonour, even to the laſt act of this diſtreſsful tragedy.

I ſhall ſay little more of the firſt years of my life, except that my father, who had a tender affection for me, took eſpecial care of my education, and ſent me, at the age of thirteen, to the univerſity of Königſberg, where, under the tuition of Kowalewſky, my progreſs was rapid. There were fourteen other noblemen, of the beſt families, in the ſame houſe, and under the ſame maſter.

The year following, that is to ſay in 1740, I had a quarrel with one young Wallenrodt, a fellow ſtudent, much ſtronger and taller than myſelf, and who, deſpiſing my weakneſs, thought proper to give me a blow. I demanded ſatisfaction—he came

not to the appointed place, but treated my demand with contempt; and I, forgetting all further reſpect, procured a ſecond, and attacked him in open day. We fought, and I had the fortune to wound him twice; the firſt time in the arm; the ſecond in the hand.

This affair incited inquiry:—doctor Kowalewſky, our tutor, laid complaints before the univerſity, and I was condemned to three hours confinement; but my grandfather and guardian, preſident Derſchau, with whom I was a great favourite, was ſo pleaſed with my courage, that he inſtantly took me from this houſe, and placed me under profeſſor Chriſtiani.

Here I firſt began to enjoy full and entire liberty; and from this worthy man I learnt all I know of experimental philoſophy and ſcience. He loved me as his own ſon, and ſometimes continued inſtructing me till midnight. Under his auſpices, in 1742, I maintained, with great ſucceſs, two public theſes, although I was then but ſixteen;

ſixteen;—an effort and an honour till then unknown.

Three days after my laſt public exordium, a contemptible fellow, and profeſſional bully, ſought a quarrel with me, and, as I may ſay, obliged me to draw in my own defence, whom, on this occaſion, I wounded in the groin.

This continued ſucceſs highly inflated my valour, and from that time I began to wear a ſword of enormous length, and to aſſume the accoutrements and appearance of a Hector.

Such was the effect of prejudices inſpired in youth, and which would inevitably have made me a quarrelſome dangerous man, had not the rectitude of my heart, and the extreme miſeries of which I became the victim, ſoon re-conducted me to the paths of virtue.

Scarcely had a fortnight elapſed, after this laſt affair, before I had another with a lieutenant of the garriſon, one of my friends, whom I had inſulted, who received two wounds in the conteſt.

I ought to remark that, at this time, the univerſity of Königſberg was ſtill highly privileged. To ſend a challenge was held honourable; and this was not only permitted, but would have been difficult to prevent, conſidering the great number of proud, hot-headed, turbulent young nobility from Livonia, Courland, Sweden, Denmark, and Poland, who came thither to ſtudy, and of whom there were more than five hundred. This brought the univerſity into diſrepute, and endeavours have been made to remedy the abuſe. Men have acquired a greater extent of true knowledge, and have begun to perceive that a univerſity ought to be a place of inſtruction, and not a field of battle; and that blood cannot be honourably ſhed, except in defence of life or country.

In November, 1742, the king ſent his adjutant-general, baron Lottum, who was related to my mother, to Königſberg, with whom I dined at my grandfather's. He converſed much with me; and, after putting various queſtions, purpoſely to diſcover

what

what my talents and inclinations were, he demanded, as if in joke, whether I had any inclination to go with him to Berlin, and ſerve my country, as my anceſtors had ever done; adding that, in the army, I ſhould find much better opportunities of ſending challenges than at the univerſity.—Inflamed with the deſire of diſtinguiſhing myſelf, I liſtened with rapture to the propoſition, and, in a few days, we departed for Potzdam.

On the morrow after my arrival, I was preſented to the king, as indeed I had before been in the year 1740, with the character of being then one of the moſt hopeful youths of the univerſity. My reception was moſt flattering; the juſtneſs of my replies to the queſtions he aſked, my height, figure, and confidence, pleaſed him; and I ſoon obtained permiſſion to enter as a cadet in his body guards, with a promiſe of quick preferment.

The body guards formed, at this time, a model and ſchool for the Pruſſian cavalry: they conſiſted of one ſingle ſquadron of

men, ſelected from the whole army, and their uniform was the moſt ſplendid in all Europe. Two thouſand rix-dollars were neceſſary to equip an officer: the cuiraſs was wholly plated with ſilver; and the horſe-furniture and accoutrements alone coſt four hundred rix-dollars.

This ſquadron only contained ſix officers, and a hundred and forty-four men; but there were always fifty or ſixty ſupernumeraries, and as many horſes; for the king incorporated all the moſt handſome men he found in theſe guards. The officers were the beſt taught of any the army contained; the king himſelf was their tutor, and he afterwards ſent them to inſtruct the cavalry in the manœuvres they had learnt. Their riſe was rapid, if they behaved well; but they were broken for the leaſt fault, and puniſhed by being ſent to garriſon regiments. It was likewiſe neceſſary they ſhould be tolerably rich, as well as poſſeſs ſuch talents as might be ſucceſsfully employed, both at court and in the army.

There

There are no ſoldiers in the world who undergo ſo much as this body guard; and during the time I was in the ſervice of Frederic I often had not eight hours ſleep in eight days. Exerciſe began at four in the morning, and experiments were made of all the alterations the king meant to introduce in his cavalry. Ditches of three, four, five, ſix, feet, and ſtill wider, were leaped, till that ſome one broke his neck; hedges, in like manner, were freed; and the horſe ran careers, meeting each other full ſpeed, in a kind of liſts of more than half a league in length. We had often, in theſe our exerciſes, ſeveral men and horſes killed or wounded.

It happened, more frequently than otherwiſe, that the ſame experiments were repeated after dinner with freſh horſes; and it was not uncommon, at Potzdam, to hear the alarm ſounded twice in a night. The horſes ſtood in the king's ſtables; and whoever had not dreſſed, armed himſelf, ſaddled his horſe, mounted, and appeared

before

before the palace, in eight minutes, was put under arreſt for fourteen days.

Scarcely were the eyes cloſed before the trumpet again ſounded, to accuſtom youth to vigilance. I loſt, in one year, three horſes, which had either broken their legs in leaping ditches, or died of fatigue.

I cannot give a ſtronger picture of this ſervice, than by ſaying that the body guard loſt more men and horſes in one year's peace than they did, during the following year, in two battles.

We had, at this time, three ſtations: our ſervice, in the winter, was at Berlin; where we attended the opera, and all public feſtivals: in the ſpring we were exerciſed at Charlottenburg; and at Potzdam, or whereever the king went, during the ſummer. The ſix officers of the guard dined with the king, and on gala days with the queen. It may be preſumed, there was not, at that time, on earth, a better ſchool to form an officer and a man of the world than was the court of Berlin.

I had

I had ſcarcely been ſix weeks a cadet before the king took me aſide, one day, after the parade; and, having examined me near half an hour, on various ſubjects, commanded me to come and ſpeak to him on the morrow.

His attention was to find whether the accounts that had been given him of my memory had not been exaggerated; and that he might be convinced, he firſt gave me the names of fifty ſoldiers to learn by rote, which I did in five minutes. He next repeated the ſubjects of two letters, which I immediately compoſed in French and Latin; the one I wrote, the other I dictated. He afterwards ordered me to trace, with promptitude, a landſcape from nature, which I executed with equal ſucceſs; and he then gave me a cornet's commiſſion in his body guards.

Each mark of bounty from the monarch increaſed an ardour already great, inſpired me with gratitude, and the firſt of my wiſhes was to devote my whole life to the ſervice of my king and country. He ſpoke

to

to me, as a ſovereign ſhould ſpeak, like a father, like one who knew well how to eſtimate the gifts beſtowed on me by Nature; and perceiving, or rather feeling, how much he might expect from me, became at once my inſtructor and my friend.

Thus did I remain a cadet only ſix weeks; and few Pruſſians can vaunt, under the reign of Frederic, of equal good fortune.

The king not only preſented me with a commiſſion, but equipped me ſplendidly for the ſervice. Thus did I ſuddenly find myſelf a courtier, and an officer in the fineſt, braveſt, and beſt diſciplined corps in Europe. My good fortune ſeemed unlimited, when, in the month of Auguſt 1743, the king ſelected me to go and inſtruct the Sileſian cavalry in the new manœuvres; an honour never before granted to a youth of eighteen.

I have already ſaid we were garriſoned at Berlin during winter, where the officers' table was at court; and, as my reputation had preceded me, no perſon whatever could

could be better received there, or live more pleaſantly.

Frederic commanded me to viſit the literati whom he had invited to his court: Maupertuis, Jordan, La Metrie, and Pollnitz, were all my acquaintance. My days were employed in the duties of an officer, and my nights in acquiring knowledge. Pollnitz was my guide, and the friend of my heart. My happineſs was well worthy being envied. In 1743, I was five feet eleven inches in height; and Nature had endowed me with every requiſite to pleaſe. I lived, as I vainly imagined, without inciting enmity or malice, and my mind was wholly occupied by the deſire of earning well-founded fame.

I had hitherto remained ignorant of love, and had been terrified from illicit commerce by beholding the dreadful objects of the hoſpital at Potzdam. During the winter of 1743 the nuptials of his majeſty's ſiſter were celebrated, who was married to the king of Sweden, where ſhe is at preſent queen-dowager, mother of the reigning

Guſtavus.

Guſtavus. I, as officer of my corps, had the honour to mount guard, and eſcort her as far as Stettin. Here firſt did my heart feel a paſſion of which, in the courſe of my hiſtory, I ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak. The object of my love was one whom I can only remember at preſent with reverence; and, as I write not romance, but facts, I ſhall here briefly ſay, ours were mutually the firſt fruits of affection, and that to this hour I regret no misfortune, no miſery, with which, from a ſtock ſo noble, my deſtiny was overſhadowed. Amid the tumult, inſeparable to occaſions like theſe, on which it was my duty to maintain order, a thief had the addreſs to ſteal my watch, and cut away a part of the gold fringe which hung from the waiſtcoat of my uniform, and afterwards to eſcape unperceived. This accident brought on me the raillery of my comrades; and the lady alluded to thence took occaſion to conſole me, by ſaying, 'It ſhould be her care that I ſhould be no loſer.' Her words were accompanied by a look I could not

not miſunderſtand; and, a few days after, I thought myſelf the happieſt of mortals. The name, however, of this high-born lady is a ſecret, which muſt deſcend with me to the grave; and, though my ſilence concerning this incident leaves a void in my life, and indeed throws obſcurity over a part of it which might elſe be clear, I would much rather incur this reproach, than become ungrateful toward my beſt friend and benefactreſs. To her converſation, to her prudence, to the power by which ſhe fixed my affections wholly on herſelf, am I indebted for the improvement and poliſhing of my bodily and mental qualities. She never deſpiſed, betrayed, or abandoned me, even in the deepeſt of my diſtreſs; and my children alone, on my death-bed, ſhall be taught the name of her to whom they owe the preſervation of their father, and, conſequently, their own exiſtence.

I lived at this time perfectly happy at Berlin, and highly eſteemed. The king took every opportunity to teſtify his approbation;

bation; my miſtreſs ſupplied me with more money than I could expend; and I was preſently the beſt equipped, and made the greateſt figure of any officer in the whole corps. The ſtyle in which I lived was remarked; for I had only received from my father's heritage the eſtate of Great Scharlach, the rent of which was eight hundred dollars a year, which was far from ſufficient to ſupply my then expenſes. My amour, in the mean time, remained a ſecret from my beſt and moſt intimate friends. Twice was my abſence from Potzdam and Charlottenburg diſcovered, and I was put under arreſt; but the king ſeemed ſatisfied with the excuſes I made, under pretext of having been hunting, and ſmiled as he granted my pardon.

Never did the days of youth glide away with more apparent ſucceſs and pleaſure than during theſe my firſt years at Berlin. This good fortune was, alas, alſo of ſhort duration! Many are the incidents I might relate, but which I ſhall omit. My other adventures are ſufficiently numerous, without mingling

ſuch

ſuch as may any way ſeem foreign to the ſubject. In this gloomy hiſtory of my life, I wiſh to paint myſelf ſuch as I am; and, by the recital of my ſufferings, afford a memorable example to the world, and intereſt the heart of ſenſibility. I would alſo ſhow how my fatal deſtiny has deprived my children of an immenſe fortune; and, though I want a hundred thouſand men to enforce and enſure my rights, I will leave demonſtration to my heirs that they are inconteſtable.

In the beginning of September, 1744, war again broke out between the houſes of Auſtria and Pruſſia. We marched with all ſpeed toward Prague, traverſing Saxony without oppoſition. I will not relate, in this place, what the great Frederic ſaid to us, with evident emotion, when ſurrounded by all his officers, on the morning of our departure from Potzdam.

Should any one be deſirous of writing the lives of him and his opponent, Maria Thereſa, without flattery and without fear, let him apply to me, and I will relate anecdotes moſt ſurpriſing on this ſubject, unknown

known to all but myſelf, and which never muſt appear under my own name.

All monarchs going to war have reaſon on their ſide; and the churches of both parties reſound with prayers, and appeals to Divine Juſtice, for the ſucceſs of their arms. Frederic, on this occaſion, had recourſe to them, with regret, of which I was a witneſs.

If I am not miſtaken, the king's army came before Prague on the fourteenth of September; and that of general Schwerin, which had paſſed through Sileſia, arrived the next day on the other ſide of the Moldan. In this poſition we were obliged to wait ſome days for pontons, without which we could not eſtabliſh a communication between the two armies.

The height called Ziſchka, which overlooks the city, being guarded only by a few Croats, was inſtantly ſeized, without oppoſition, by ſome grenadiers; and the batteries, erected at the foot of that mountain being ready on the fifth day, played with ſuch ſucceſs on the old town, with bombs,

bombs and red-hot balls, that it was ſet on fire. The king made every effort to take the city, before prince Charles could bring his army from the Rhine to its relief.

General Harſch thought proper to capitulate, after a ſiege of twelve days, during which not more than five hundred men of the garriſon, at the utmoſt, were killed and wounded, though eighteen thouſand men were made priſoners.

Thus far we had met with no impediment. The Imperial army, however, under the command of Prince Charles of Lorraine, having quitted the banks of the Rhine, was advancing to ſave Bohemia.

During this campaign we ſaw the enemy only at a diſtance; but the Auſtrian light troops, being thrice as numerous as ours, prevented us from all foraging. Winter was approaching; dearth and hunger made Frederic determine to retreat, without the leaſt hope from the countries in our rear, which we had entirely laid waſte as we had advanced. The ſeverity of the ſeaſon, in the month of November, rendered the

ſoldiers exceſſively impatient of their hardſhips; and, accuſtomed to conquer, the Pruſſians were aſhamed of, and repined at, retreat: the enemy's light troops facilitated deſertion, and we loſt, in a few weeks, above thirty thouſand men. The pandours of my kinſman, the Auſtrian Trenck, were inceſſantly at our heels, gave us frequent alarms, did us great injury, and, by their alertneſs, we never could make any impreſſion upon them with our cannon. Trenck at length paſſed the Elbe, and went and burnt and deſtroyed our magazines at Pardubitz: it was therefore reſolved wholly to evacuate Bohemia.

The king hoped to have brought Prince Charles to a battle, between Benneſchan and Kannupitz, but in vain: the Saxons, during the night, had erected a battery of three and twenty cannon, on a mound which ſeparated two ponds: this was the preciſe road by which the king meant to make the attack.

Thus were we obliged to abandon Bohemia. The dearth, both for man and horſe,

horſe, began to grow extreme. The weather was bad; the roads and ruts were deep; marches were continual, and alarms and attacks from the enemy's light troops became inceſſant. The diſcontent all theſe inſpired was univerſal, and this occaſioned the great loſs of the army.

Under ſuch circumſtances, had Prince Charles continued to haraſs us, by purſuing us into Sileſia, had he made a winter campaign, inſtead of remaining indolently at eaſe in Bohemia, we certainly ſhould not have vanquiſhed him, the year following, at Strigau; but he only followed at a diſtance, as far as the Bohemian frontiers. This gave Frederic time to recover, and the more effectually becauſe the Auſtrians had the imprudence to permit the return of deſerters.

This was a repetition of what had happened to Charles XII. when he ſuffered his Ruſſian priſoners to return home, who afterward ſo effectually puniſhed his contempt of them at the battle of Pultowa.

rague was obliged to be abandoned, a conſiderable loſs; and Trenck ſeized on Tabor, Budweis, and Frauenberg, where he took priſoners the regiments of Walrabe and Kreutz.

No one would have been better able to give a faithful hiſtory of this campaign than myſelf, had I room in this place, and had I at that time been more attentive to things of moment; ſince I not only performed the office of adjutant to the king, when he went to reconnoitre, or chooſe a place of encampment, but it was, moreover, my duty to provide forage for the head quarters. The king having only permitted me to take ſix volunteers from the body guard, to execute this latter duty, I was obliged to add to them horſe chaſſeurs, and huſſars, with whom I was continually in motion. I was peculiarly fortunate on two occaſions, by happening to come after the enemy, when they had left loaded waggons and forage bundles.

I ſeldom paſſed the night in my tent during this campaign; and my indefatigable acti-

activity obtained the favour and entire confidence of Frederic. Nothing ſo much contributed to inſpire me with emulation as the public praiſes I received; and my enthuſiaſm wiſhed to perform wonders. The campaign, however, but ill ſupplied me with opportunities to diſplay my youthful ardour.

At length, no one durſt leave the camp, notwithſtanding the extremity of the dearth, becauſe of the innumerable clouds of pandours, and huſſars, that hovered every where around.

No ſooner were we arrived in Sileſia than the king's body guard was ſent to Berlin, there to remain in winter quarters.

I ſhould not here have mentioned the Bohemian war, but that, while writing the hiſtory of my life, I ought not to omit accidents by which my future deſtiny was influenced.

One day, while at Bennaſchen, I was commanded out with a detachment of thirty huſſars, and twenty chaſſeurs, on a foraging party. I had poſted my huſſars in

a convent, and gone myſelf with the chaſſeurs, to a manſion-houſe, to ſeize the carts neceſſary for the conveyance of the hay and ſtraw from a neighbouring farm. An Auſtrian lieutenant of huſſars, concealed with thirty-ſix horſemen in a wood, having remarked the weakneſs of my eſcort, taking advantage of the moment when my people were all employed in loading the carts, firſt ſeized our ſentinel, and then fell ſuddenly upon them, and took them all priſoners in the very farm-yard. At this moment I was ſeated at my eaſe, beſide the lady of the manſion-houſe, and was a ſpectator of the whole tranſaction through the window.

I was aſhamed of and in deſpair at my negligence. The kind lady wiſhed to hide me when the firing was heard in the farm-yard. By good fortune the huſſars, whom I had ſtationed in the convent, had learnt from a peaſant that there was an Auſtrian detachment in the wood; they had ſeen us at a diſtance enter the farm-yard, haſtily marched to our aid, and we had not been

taken

taken more than two minutes before they arrived. I cannot expreſs the pleaſure with which I put myſelf at their head. Some of the enemy's party eſcaped through a back door, but we made two and twenty priſoners, with a lieutenant of the regiment of Kalnockichen: they had two men killed, and one wounded; and two men alſo of my chaſſeurs were hewed down, by the ſabre, in the hay-loft, where they were at work.

We continued our forage with more caution after this accident: the horſes we had taken ſerved, in part, to draw the carts; and, after raiſing a contribution of one hundred and fifty ducats on the convent, which I diſtributed among the ſoldiers to engage them to ſilence, we returned to the army, from which we were diſtant about two leagues.

We heard firing as we marched; and the foragers on all ſides were ſkirmiſhing with the enemy. A lieutenant and forty horſe joined me; yet, with this reinforcement, I durſt not return to the camp, becauſe I

learnt we were in danger from more than eight hundred pandours and huſſars, who were in the plain. I therefore determined to take a long, winding, but ſecret route, and had the good fortune to come ſafe to quarters, with my priſoners, and five and twenty loaded carts. The king was at dinner when I entered his tent. Having been abſent all night, it was imagined I had been taken, that accident having happened, the ſame day, to many others.

The inſtant I entered, the king demanded if I returned ſingly. No, pleaſe your majeſty, anſwered I; I have brought five and twenty load of forage, and two and twenty priſoners, with their officer and horſes.

The king then commanded me to ſit down, and turning himſelf toward the Engliſh ambaſſador, who was near him, ſaid, laying his hand on my ſhoulder, *C'eſt un Matador de ma jeuneſſe* *.

A re-

* Literally, "He is a matadore of my youth." The allu-

A reconnoitring party was, at the ſame moment, in waiting before his tent; he conſequently aſked me few queſtions, and to thoſe he did aſk I replied tremblingly. In a few minutes he roſe from table, gave a glance at the priſoners, hung the Order of Merit round my neck, commanded me to go and take repoſe, and ſet off with his party.

It is eaſy to conceive the embarraſſment of my ſituation; my unpardonable negligence deſerved that I ſhould have been broken, inſtead of which I was rewarded; an inſtance, this, of the great influence of chance on the affairs of the world. How many generals have gained victories by their very errors, which have been afterwards attributed to their genius! It is evident, the ſerjeant of huſſars, who retook me and my men, by bringing up his party,

alluſion, apparently, is to the reſtleſs power of the Matadore at the game of Quadrille.

The Monthly Review conjectures the true reading to be *Matamore*. In either caſe the meaning ſeems to be "He is one of my young Hectors." T.

was much better entitled than myſelf to the recompenſe I received. On how many occaſions have I ſince met with diſgrace and puniſhment, when I deſerved reward! My inquietude leſt the truth ſhould be diſcovered was extreme, eſpecially recollecting how many people were in the ſecret; and my apprehenſions were inceſſant.

As I did not want money, I gave the ſerjeants twenty ducats each, and the ſoldiers one, in order to inſure their ſilence, which, being a favourite with them, they readily promiſed. I however was determined to declare the truth the very firſt opportunity, and this happened a few days after.

We were on our march, and I, as cornet, was at the head of my company, when the king, advancing, beckoned me to come to him, and bade me tell him exactly how the affair I had ſo lately been engaged in happened.

The queſtion at firſt made me miſtruſt I was betrayed: but, remarking the king had a mildneſs in his manner, I preſently recovered myſelf, and related the exact truth.

truth. I ſaw the aſtoniſhment of his countenance, but at the ſame time ſaw he was pleaſed with my ſincerity. He ſpoke to me for half an hour, not as a king, but as a father, praiſed my candour, and ended with the following words, which while life remains I ſhall never forget: "Confide in "the advice I give you; depend wholly "upon me, and I will make you a man." Whoever can feel may imagine how infinitely my gratitude toward the king was increaſed, by this his great goodneſs; from that moment I had no other deſire than to live and die for his ſervice.

I ſoon perceived the confidence the king had in me after this explanation, of which I received very frequent marks, the following winter, at Berlin. He permitted me to be preſent at his converſations with the literati of his court, and my ſtate was truly enviable.

I received, this ſame winter, more than five hundred ducats as preſents. So much happineſs could not but excite jealouſy, and

this began to be manifeſt on every ſide. I had too little diſguiſe for a courtier, and my heart was much too open and frank.

Before I proceed, I will here relate an incident which happened during the laſt campaign, and which will, no doubt, be read in the hiſtory of Frederic.

On the route while retreating through Bohemia, the king came to Kollin, with his horſe guards, the cavalry piquets of the head quarters, and the ſecond and third battalions of guards. We had only four field pieces, and our ſquadron was ſtationed in one of the ſuburbs. Our advanced poſts, toward evening, were driven back into the town, and the huſſar sentered pell-mell: the enemy's light troops ſwarmed over the country, and my commanding officer ſent me immediately to receive the king's orders. After much ſearch, I found him at the top of a ſteeple, with a teleſcope in his hand. Never did I ſee him ſo diſturbed, or undecided, as on this occaſion. Orders were immediately given that we

ſhould

ſhould retreat through the city into the oppoſite ſuburb, where we were to halt, but not unſaddle.

We had not been here long before a moſt heavy rain fell, and the night became exceedingly dark. My couſin Trenck made his approach about nine in the evening, with his pandour and janiſſary muſic, and ſet fire to ſeveral houſes. They found we were in the ſuburb, and began to fire upon us from the city windows. The tumult became extreme; the city was too full for us to re-enter: the gate was ſhut, and they fired from above at us with our field pieces. Trenck had let in the waters upon us, and we were up to the girths by midnight, and almoſt in deſpair. We loſt ſeven men, and my horſe was wounded in the neck.

The king and all of us had certainly been made priſoners, had my couſin, as he has ſince told me, been able to continue the aſſault he had begun; but, a cannon-ball having wounded him in the foot, he was carried off, and the pandours retired. The

corps of Naſſau arrived next day to our aid; we quitted Kollin, and, during the march, the king ſaid to me, "Your couſin "had nearly played us a malicious prank "laſt night; but the deſerters ſay he is "killed." He then aſked me what our relationſhip was, and there our converſation ended.

It was about the middle of December when we came to Berlin, where I was received with open arms. I became leſs cautious than formerly, and perhaps was more narrowly obſerved. A lieutenant of the foot guards, who was a public Ganymede, and againſt whom I had that natural antipathy and abhorrence I have for all ſuch wretches, having indulged himſelf in ſome very impertinent jokes on the ſecret of my amour, I beſtowed on him the epithet he deſerved. We drew our ſwords, and he was wounded. On the ſunday following, I preſented myſelf to pay my reſpects to his Majeſty on the parade, who ſaid to me, as he paſſed, "The ſtorm and the thunder

"ſhall

" ſhall rend your heart; beware *." He added nothing more.

Some little time after, I was a few minutes too late on the parade; the king remarked it, and ſent me under arreſt, to the foot guard at Potzdam. When I had been here a fortnight, col. Wartenſleben came, and adviſed me to petition for pardon. I was then too much a novice in the modes of the court to follow his counſel, nor did I even remark the perſon who gave it me was himſelf a moſt ſubtle courtier. I complained bitterly that I had ſo long been deprived of liberty, for a fault which was uſually puniſhed by three, or, at moſt, ſix days arreſt. Here, accordingly, I remained.

Eight days after, the king being come to Potzdam, I was ſent by general Bourke to Berlin, to carry ſome letters, but with-

* A common expreſſion with Frederic when he was angry, and which has ſince become proverbial among Pruſſian and other German officers. See *Critical Review, April*, 1788.

out

out having ſeen the king. On my return, I preſented myſelf to him on the parade; and as our ſquadron was garriſoned at Berlin, I aſked, "Does it pleaſe your Majeſty "that I ſhould go and join my corps?" "Whence come you?" anſwered he— "From Berlin"—"And where were you "before you went to Berlin?"—"Under "arreſt"—"Then under arreſt you muſt "remain."

I did not recover my liberty till three days before our departure for Sileſia, toward which we marched, with the utmoſt ſpeed, in the beginning of May, to commence our ſecond campaign.

Here I muſt recount an event which happened that winter, which became the ſource of all my misfortunes, and to which I muſt entreat my readers will pay the utmoſt attention; ſince this error, if innocence can be error, was the cauſe that the moſt faithful and the beſt of ſubjects became bewildered in ſcenes of wretchedneſs, and was the victim of miſery, from his nineteenth to the ſixtieth year of his age. I dare preſume

ſume that this true narrative, ſupported by teſtimonies the moſt authentic, will fully vindicate my preſent honour, and my future memory.

Francis Baron of Trenck was the ſon of my father's brother, conſequently my couſin-german. I ſhall ſpeak, hereafter, of the ſingular events of his life. Being a commander of pandours in the Auſtrian ſervice, and grievouſly wounded in Bavaria, in the year 1743, he wrote to my mother, informing her he intended me, her eldeſt ſon, for his univerſal legatee. This letter, to which I returned no anſwer, was ſent to me at Potzdam. I was ſo ſatisfied with my ſituation, and had ſuch numerous reaſons ſo to be, conſidering the kindneſs with which the king treated me, that I would not have exchanged my good fortune for all the treaſures of the Great Mogul.

On the 12th of February 1744, being at Berlin, I was in company with captain Jaſchinſky, commander of the body-guard, the captain of which ranks as colonel in the army, together with lieutenant Studnitz, and

cornet

cornet Wagnitz. The latter was my field comrade, and is at this preſent commander general of the cavalry of Heſſe Caſſel. The Auſtrian Trenck became the ſubject of converſation, and Jaſchinſky aſked if I was his kinſman: I anſwered yes, and immediately mentioned his having made me his univerſal heir. "And what anſwer "have you returned?" ſaid Jaſchinſky— "None at all."

The whole company then obſerved, that, in a caſe like the preſent, I was much to blame not to anſwer; that the leaſt I could do would be to thank him for his good wiſhes, and entreat a continuance of them. Jaſchinſky further added, "Deſire him to "ſend you ſome of his fine Hungarian "horſes for your own uſe, and give me "the letter; I will convey it to him, by "means of Mr. Boffart, legation counſel- "lor of the Saxon embaſſy; but on con- "dition that you will give me one of the "horſes. This correſpondence is a fa- "mily, and not a ſtate, affair; I will "make

" make myſelf reſponſible for the conſe-
" quences."

I immediately took my commander's advice, and began to write; and had thoſe who ſuſpected me thought proper to make the leaſt inquiry into theſe circumſtances, the four witneſſes, who read what I wrote, could have atteſted my innocence, and rendered it indubitable. I gave my letter open to Jaſchinſky, who ſealed and ſent it himſelf.

I muſt omit none of the incidents concerning this letter, it being the ſole cauſe of all my ſufferings. I ſhall therefore here relate an event, which was the firſt occaſion of the unjuſt ſuſpicions entertained againſt me.

One of my grooms, with two led horſes, was, among many others, taken by the pandours of Trenck. When I returned to the camp, I was to accompany the king on a reconnoitring party. My horſe was too tired, and I had no other: I informed him of my embarraſſment, and his majeſty immediately

mediately made me a preſent of a fine Engliſh courſer.

Some days after, I was exceedingly aſtoniſhed to ſee my groom return, with my two horſes, and a pandour trumpeter, who brought me a letter, containing nearly the following words.

" The Auſtrian Trenck is not at war " with the Pruſſian Trenck, but on the " contrary is happy to have recovered the " horſes from his huſſars, and to return " them to whom they firſt belonged, &c."

I went the ſame day to pay my reſpects to the king, who, receiving me with great coldneſs, ſaid, " Since your couſin has re- " turned your own horſes, you have no " more need of mine."

There were too many who envied me to ſuppoſe theſe words would eſcape repetition. The return of the horſes ſeems infinitely to have increaſed the ſuſpicion Frederic entertained againſt me, and therefore became one of the principal cauſes of my misfortunes: it is for this reaſon that I dwell upon this and ſuch like ſmall incidents,

dents, they being neceſſary for my own juſtification, and, were it poſſible, for that of the king. My innocence is indeed at preſent univerſally acknowledged by the court, the army, and the whole nation; who all mention the injuſtice I ſuffered with pity, and the fortitude with which it was endured with ſurpriſe.

We marched for Sileſia, to enter on our ſecond campaign; which, to the Pruſſians, was as bloody and murderous as it was glorious.

The king's head-quarters were fixed at the convent of Kamenz, where we reſted fourteen days, and the army remained in cantonments. Prince Charles, inſtead of following us into Bohemia, had the imprudence to occupy the plain of Strigau, and we already concluded his army was beaten. Whoever is well acquainted with tactics, and the Pruſſian manœuvres, will eaſily judge, without the aid of calculation or witchcraft, whether a well or ill-diſciplined army, in an open plain, ought to be victorious.

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The army haſtily left its cantonments, and in twenty-four hours was in order of battle; and on the 14th of June, eighteen thouſand bodies lay ſtretched on the plain of Strigau. The allied armies of Auſtria and Saxony were totally defeated.

The body-guard was on the right; and previous to the attack, the king ſaid to our ſquadron, "Prove to-day, my children, "that you are my body-guard, and give "no Saxon quarter."

We made three attacks on the cavalry, and two on the infantry. Nothing could withſtand a ſquadron like this, which, for men, horſes, courage, and experience, was aſſuredly the firſt in the world. Our corps alone took ſeven ſtandards and five pair of colours, and in leſs than an hour the affair was over.

I received a piſtol ſhot in my right hand, my horſe was deſperately wounded, and I was obliged to change on him the third charge. The day after the battle, all the officers were rewarded with the Order of Merit. For my own part, I remained four weeks

weeks among the wounded, at Schweidnitz, where there were ſixteen thouſand men under the torture of the army ſurgeons, many of whom had not their wounds dreſſed till the third day.

I was near three months before I recovered the uſe of my hand: I nevertheleſs rejoined my corps, continued to perform my duty, and as uſual accompanied the king when he went to reconnoitre. For ſome time paſt, he had placed confidence in me, and his kindneſs toward me continually increaſed, which raiſed my gratitude even to enthuſiaſm.

I alſo performed the ſervice of adjutant, during this campaign, a circumſtantial account of which no perſon is better enabled to write than myſelf; I having been preſent at all that paſſed. I was the ſcholar of the greateſt maſter the art of war ever knew, and who believed me worthy to receive his inſtructions; but the volumes I am writing would be inſufficient to contain all that perſonally relates to myſelf.

I muſt here mention an adventure that hap-

happened at this time, and which will ſhow the art of the great Frederic in forming youth for his ſervice, and devotedly attaching them to his perſon.

I was exceedingly fond of hunting, in which, notwithſtanding it was ſeverely forbidden, I indulged myſelf. I one day returned laden with pheaſants: but judge my aſtoniſhment, and fears, when I ſaw the army had decamped, and that it was with difficulty I could overtake the rear-guard.

In this my diſtreſs, I applied to an officer of huſſars, who inſtantly lent me his horſe, by the aid of which I rejoined my corps, which always marched as the vanguard. Mounting my own horſe, I tremblingly rode to the head of my diviſion, which it was my duty to precede. The king, however, had remarked my abſence, or rather had been reminded of it by my ſuperior officer, who, for ſome time paſt, had become my enemy.

Juſt as the army halted to encamp, the king rode toward me, and made a ſignal

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for me to approach, and, reading my fears in my countenance, ſaid, with a ſmile, "What, are you juſt returned from hunting?"—"Yes, your majeſty;—I hope —" Here, interrupting me, he added, "Well, well, for this time I ſhall take no further notice, remembering Potzdam: —but, however, let me find you more attentive to your duty."

So ended this affair, for which I deſerved to have been broken. I muſt remind the readers that the king meant, by the words *remembering Potzdam*, he remembered I had been puniſhed too ſeverely the winter before, and that my preſent pardon was intended as a compenſation.

This was indeed to think and act greatly; this was indeed the true art of forming great men; an art much more effectual than that of ferocious generals, who threaten ſubalterns with impriſonment and chains on every ſlight occaſion; and, while indulging all the rigours of military law, make no diſtinction of minds or of men. Frederic, on the contrary, ſometimes pardoned the

failings

failings of genius, while mechanic ſouls he mechanically puniſhed, according to the very letter of the laws of war.

I ſhall further remark, the king took no more notice of my late fault, except that ſometimes, when I had the honour to dine with him, he would ridicule people who were too often at the chaſe, or who were ſo choleric that they took occaſion to quarrel for the leaſt trifle.

The campaign paſſed in different manœuvres, marches, and countermarches. Our corps was the moſt fatigued, as being encamped round the king's tent, the ſtation of which was central, and as likewiſe having the care of the vanguard: we were therefore obliged to begin our march two hours ſooner than the remainder of the army, that we might be in our place. We alſo accompanied the king, whenever he went to reconnoitre; traced the lines of encampment; led the horſe to water; inſpected the head-quarters; and regulated the march and encampment, according to the king's orders; the performance of all which

which robbed us of much reſt, we being but ſix officers to execute ſo many different functions.

Still further, we often executed the office of couriers, to bear the royal commands to detachments. The king was particularly careful that the officers of his guards, whom he intended ſhould become excellent in the art of tactics, ſhould not be idle in his ſchool. It was neceſſary to do much, in order that much might be learnt. Labour, vigilance, activity, the love of glory, and the love of their country, animated all his generals; into whom, it may be ſaid, he infuſed his ſpirit.

In this ſchool I gained inſtruction, and here already was I ſelected, as one deſtined to inſtruct others: yet, in my fortieth year, a great general at Vienna told me, "My "dear Trenck, our diſcipline would be too "difficult for you to learn; for which in-"deed you are too far advanced in life." Agreeable to this wiſe deciſion was I made an Auſtrian invalid, and an invalid have always remained: a judgment like this

would have been laughed at, moſt certainly, at Berlin.

If I miſtake not, the famous battle of Soor, or Sorau, was fought on the 14th day of September. The king had ſent ſo many detachments into Saxony, Bohemia, and Sileſia, that the main army did not conſiſt of more than twenty-five thouſand men. Neglecting advice, and obſtinate in judging his enemy by numbers, and not according to the excellence of diſcipline, and other accidents, prince Charles, blind to the real ſtrength of the Pruſſian armies, had encloſed this ſmall number of Pomeranian and Brandenburgh regiments with more than eighty-ſix thouſand men, intending to take them all priſoners.

It will ſoon be ſeen, from my narrative, with what kind of ſecreſy his plan was laid and executed.

The king came into my tent about midnight; as he alſo did into that of all the officers, to awaken them: his orders were, "Secretly to ſaddle, leave the baggage in "the rear, and that the men ſhould ſtand "ready

"ready to mount at the word of com-
"mand."

Lieutenant Studnidtz and myſelf attended the king, who went in perſon, and gave directions through the whole army: mean time, break of day was expected with anxiety.

Oppoſite the defile, through which the enemy was to march to the attack, eight field-pieces were concealed behind a hill. The king muſt, neceſſarily, have been informed of the whole plan of the Auſtrian general, for he had called in the advanced poſts from the heights, that he might lull him into ſecurity, and make him imagine we ſhould be ſurpriſed in the midſt of ſleep.

Scarcely did break of day appear, before the Auſtrian artillery, ſituated upon the heights, began to play upon our camp, and their cavalry to march, through the defile, to the attack.

As ſuddenly were we in battle array; for in leſs than ten minutes we ourſelves began the attack, notwithſtanding the ſmall-

neſs of our number, the whole army only containing five regiments of cavalry. We fell with ſuch fury upon the enemy (who at this time were wholly employed in forming their men at the mouth of the defile, and that ſlowly, little expecting ſo ſudden and violent a charge), that we drove them back into the defile, where they preſſed upon each other in crowds: the king himſelf ſtood ready to unmaſk his eight field-pieces, and a dreadful and bloody ſlaughter enſued in this narrow place, from which the enemy had not the power to retreat. This ſingle incident gained the battle, and deceived all the hopes of prince Charles.

Nadaſti, Trenck, and the light troops, ſent to attack our rear, were employed in pillaging the camp. The ferocious Croats met no oppoſition, while this their error made our victory more ſecure. It deſerves to be noticed that, when advice was brought to the king that the enemy had fallen upon and were plundering the camp, his anſwer was, "So much the better; "they have found themſelves employment,

"and

" and will be no impediment to our main " deſign."

Our victory was complete, but all our baggage was loſt; the head-quarters, utterly undefended, were totally ſtripped; and Trenck had, for his part of the booty, the king's tent, and his ſervice of plate.

I have mentioned this circumſtance here, becauſe that, in the year 1746, my couſin Trenck, having fallen into the power of his enemies, who had inſtituted a legal proceſs againſt him, was accuſed, by ſome villainous wretches, of having ſurpriſed the king in bed at the battle of Sorau, and of having afterwards releaſed him for a bribe.

What was ſtill worſe, they hired a common proſtitute, a native of Brunn, who pretended ſhe was the daughter of marſhal Schwerin, to give in evidence that ſhe herſelf was in bed with the king when Trenck entered his tent, whom he immediately made priſoner, and as immediately releaſed.

To this part of the proſecution I myſelf, an eye-witneſs, can anſwer: the thing was falſe and impoſſible. He was informed of

the intended attack. I accompanied the watchful king from midnight till four in the morning, which time he employed in riding through the camp, and making the neceſſary preparations to receive the enemy: and the action began at five. Trenck could not take the king in bed, for the battle was almoſt gained when he and his pandours entered the camp, and plundered the head-quarters.

As for the tale of Miſs Schwerin, it is only fit to be told by ſchool-boys, or examined by the inquiſition, and was very unworthy of making part of a legal proſecution againſt an innocent man at Vienna.

This incident, however, is ſo remarkable, that I ſhall give, in this work, a farther account of my kinſman, and what was called his criminal proceſs; at reading which the world will be aſtoniſhed. My own hiſtory is ſo connected with his, that this is neceſſary; and the more ſo, becauſe there are many ignorant or wicked people at Vienna, who believe, or affirm, Trenck had actually taken the king of Pruſſia priſoner.

Never yet was there a traitor of the name of Trenck; and I hope to prove, in the cleareſt manner, the Auſtrian Trenck as faithfully ſerved the empreſs queen as the Pruſſian Trenck did Frederic, his king. Maria Thereſa, ſpeaking to me of him ſome time after his death, and the ſnares that had been laid for him, ſaid, "Your kinſ-"man has made a better end than will be "the fate of his accuſers and judges."

Of this more hereafter: I approach that epocha when my own misfortunes began, and when the ſufferings of martyrdom attended me from my youth onward till my hairs grew grey.

A few days after the battle of Sorau, the uſual camp poſtman brought me a letter from my couſin Trenck, the colonel of pandours, antedated at Eſſek four months, of which the following is a copy.

"Your letter, of the twelfth of February, "from Berlin, informs me you deſire to "have ſome Hungarian horſes. On theſe "you would come and attack me and my "pandours. I ſaw, with pleaſure, during

"the laſt campaign, that the Pruſſian "Trenck was a good ſoldier; and that I "might give you ſome proofs of my attach-"ment, I then returned the horſes which "my men had taken. If, however, you wiſh "to have Hungarian horſes, you muſt take "mine, in like manner, from me in the "field of battle; or, ſhould you ſo think "fit, come and join one who will receive "you with open arms, like his friend and "ſon, and who will procure you every ad-"vantage you can deſire."

At firſt I was terrified at reading this letter, yet could not help ſmiling. Cornet Wagenitz, now general in chief of the Heſſe Caſſel forces, and lieutenant Grotthauſen, both now alive, and then preſent, were my camp comrades. I gave them the letter to read, and they laughed at its contents. It was determined to ſhow it to our ſuperior officer, Jaſchinſky, on a promiſe of ſecreſy; and it was accordingly ſhown him within an hour after it was received.

The reader will be ſo kind as to recollect that, as I have before ſaid, it was this co-

lonel Jaſchinſky who, on the 12th of February, the ſame year, at Berlin, prevailed on me to write to the Auſtrian Trenck, my couſin; that he received the letter open, and undertook to ſend it according to its addreſs; alſo that, in this letter, I had, in jeſt, aſked him to ſend me ſome Hungarian horſes; and, ſhould they come, had promiſed one to Jaſchinſky. He read the letter with an air of ſurpriſe; we laughed, and, it being whiſpered through the army that, in conſequence of our late victory, detached corps would be ſent into Hungary, Jaſchinſky ſaid, "We ſhall now go and take "Hungarian horſes for ourſelves." Here the converſation ended, and I, little ſuſpecting future conſequences, returned to my tent.

I muſt here make the following obſervations:

1ſt. I had not obſerved the date of the letter brought by the poſtman, which, as I have ſaid, was antedated four months: this however the colonel did not fail to remark.

2ndly. The probability is that this was a net ſpread for me by this falſe and wicked man. The return of my horſes, during the preceding campaign, had been the ſubject of much converſation. It is poſſible he had the king's orders to watch me; but more probably he only prevailed on me to write that he might entrap me by a fictitious anſwer. Certain it is, my couſin Trenck, at Vienna, affirmed to his death he never received any letter from me, conſequently never could ſend any anſwer. I muſt therefore conclude this letter was forged.

Jaſchinſky was at this time one of the king's favourites; his ſpy over the army; a tale-bearer; an inventor of lies and wicked calumnies. Some years after the event of which I am now ſpeaking, the king was obliged to break and baniſh him the country.

He was then alſo the paramour of the beauteous Madame Broſſart, wife of the Saxon reſident at Berlin; and there can be little doubt but that this falſe letter was, by her means, conveyed to ſome Saxon or

Auſtrian

Auſtrian poſt-office, and thence, according to its addreſs, ſent to me. He had daily opportunities of infuſing ſuſpicions into the king's mind concerning me; and, unknown to me, of his purſuing his diabolical plan.

I muſt likewiſe add, he was four hundred ducats indebted to me. At that time I had always a plentiful ſupply of money. This booty became his own when I, unexamined, was arreſted, and thrown into priſon. In like manner he ſeized on the greateſt part of my camp equipage.

Further, we had quarrelled during our firſt campaign, becauſe he had beaten one of my ſervants; we even were proceeding to fight with piſtols, had not colonel Winterfeld interfered, and amicably ended our quarrel. The Lithuanian is, by nature, obſtinate and revengeful; and, from that day, I have reaſon to believe he ſought my deſtruction.

God only knows what were the means he took to excite the king's ſuſpicions; for it is incredible that Frederic, conſidering his *well-known profeſſions* of public juſtice,

ſhould treat me in the manner he did, without a hearing, without examination, and without a court-martial. This to me has ever remained a myſtery, which the king alone was able to explain: he afterwards was convinced I was innocent; but my ſufferings had been too cruel, and the miſeries he had inflicted too horrible, for me ever to hope compenſation.

In an affair of this nature, which will ſoon be known to all Europe, as it long has been in Pruſſia, the weakeſt is always guilty. I have been made a terrible example, to this our age, how true that maxim is in deſpotic ſtates.

A man of my rank, having once unjuſtly ſuffered, and having the power of making his ſufferings known, muſt either be highly rewarded, or ſtill more unjuſtly puniſhed. My name and injuries will ever ſtain the annals of Frederic *the Great*; even thoſe who read this book will perhaps ſuppoſe that I, from political motives of hope or fear, have ſometimes concealed truth, by endeavouring to palliate his conduct.

It muſt ever remain incomprehenſible, that a monarch ſo clear-ſighted, himſelf the daily witneſs of my demeanor, one well acquainted with mankind, and conſcious I wanted neither money, honour, nor hope of future preferment; I ſay it is incomprehenſible that he ſhould really ſuppoſe me guilty. I take God to witneſs, and all thoſe who knew me in proſperity and misfortune, I never harboured a thought of betraying my country. How was it poſſible to ſuſpect me? I was neither madman nor idiot. In my eighteenth year I was a cornet of the body-guard, adjutant to the king, and poſſeſſed his favour and confidence in the higheſt degree. His preſents to me, in one year, amounted to fifteen hundred dollars. I kept ſeven horſes, four men in livery: I was valued, diſtinguiſhed, and beloved by the miſtreſs of my ſoul. My relations held high offices, both civil and military: I was even fanatically devoted to my king and country, and had nothing to wiſh.

That I ſhould become thus wretched, in conſe-

conſequence of this unfortunate letter, is equally wonderful: it came by the public poſt. Had there been any criminal correſpondence, my kinſman certainly would not have choſen this mode of conveyance; ſince, it is well known, all ſuch letters are opened; nor could I act more openly. My colonel read the letter I wrote; and alſo that which I received, immediately after it was brought.

The day after the receipt of this letter I was, as I have before ſaid, unheard, unaccuſed, unjudged, conducted, like a criminal, from the army, by fifty huſſars, and impriſoned in the fortreſs of Glatz. I was allowed to take three horſes, and my ſervants, but my whole equipage was left behind, which I never ſaw more, and which became the booty of Jaſchinſky. My commiſſion was given to cornet Schatzel, and I caſhiered, without knowing why. There were no legal inquiries made; all was done by the king's command.

Unhappy people! where power is ſuperior to law, and where the innocent and

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the virtuous meet punishment instead of reward. Unhappy land! where the omnipotent SUCH IS OUR WILL superseds all legal sentence, and robs the subject of property, life, and honour.

I once more repeat I was brought to the citadel of Glatz: I was not however thrown into a dungeon, but imprisoned in a chamber of the officer of the guard; was allowed my servants to wait on me, and permitted to walk on the ramparts.

I did not want money, and there was only a detachment, from the garrison regiment, in the citadel of Glatz, the officers of which were all poor. I soon had both friends and freedom, and the rich prisoner every day kept open table.

He only who had known me in this the ardour of my youth, who had witnessed how high I aspired, and the fortune that attended me at Berlin, can imagine what my feelings were, at finding myself thus suddenly cast from my high hopes.

I wrote submissively to the king, requesting to be tried by a court-martial, and not

desiring

desiring any favour, should I be found guilty. This haughty tone, in a youth, was displeasing, and I received no answer, which threw me into despair, and induced me to use every possible means to obtain my liberty.

My first care was to establish, by the intervention of an officer, a certain correspondence with the object of my heart. She answered, she was far from supposing I had ever entertained the least thought traitorous to my country; that she knew, too well, I was perfectly incapable of dissimulation. She blamed the precipitate anger, and unjust suspicions, of the king; promised me speedy aid, and sent me a thousand ducats.

Had I, at this critical moment, possessed a prudent and intelligent friend, who could have calmed my impatience, nothing perhaps might have been more easy than to have obtained pardon of the king, by proving my innocence; or, it may be, than to have induced him to punish my enemies.

But the officers who were then at Glatz fed the flame of discontent. They supposed

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the money I ſo freely diſtributed came all from Hungary, furniſhed by the pandour cheſt; and adviſed me not to ſuffer my freedom to depend upon the will of the king, but to enjoy it in his deſpite.

It was not more eaſy to give this advice than to perſuade a man to take it, who, till then, had never encountered any thing but good fortune, and who conſequently ſupported this reverſe with impatience. I was not yet however determined, becauſe I could not yet reſolve to abandon my country, and eſpecially Berlin.

Five months ſoon paſſed away in priſon: peace was concluded; the king was returned to his capital: my commiſſion in the guards was beſtowed on another, when lieutenant Piaſchky, of the regiment of Fouquet, and enſign Reitz, who often mounted guard over me, propoſed that they and I ſhould eſcape together. I yielded, our plan was fixed, and every preparatory ſtep taken.

At that time there was another priſoner, at Glatz, whoſe name was Manget, by birth

birth a Swiſs, and captain of cavalry in the Natzmerſchen huſſars: he had been condemned by a court martial to ten years impriſonment, with allowance of only four rix-dollars per month.

Having done this man kindneſſes, I was reſolved to reſcue him from bondage, at the ſame time that I obtained freedom for myſelf. I communicated my deſign, and made the propoſal, which was accepted by him, and meaſures were taken; yet were we betrayed by this vile man, who thus purchaſed pardon and liberty.

Piaſchky, who had been informed that Reitz was arreſted, ſaved himſelf by deſerting. I denied the fact in preſence of Manget, with whom I was confronted, and bribed the auditor with a hundred ducats. By this means Reitz only ſuffered a year's impriſonment, and the loſs of his commiſſion. I was afterwards cloſely confined in a chamber, for having endeavoured to corrupt the king's officers, and was guarded with greater caution.

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Here I will interrupt my narrative, for a moment, to relate an adventure which happened between me and this captain Manget, three years after he had thus betrayed me, that is to ſay in 1749, at Warſaw.

I there met him by chance, and it is not difficult to imagine what was the ſalutation he received. I caned him; he took this ill, and challenged me to fight with piſtols. Captain Heuckin, of the Poliſh guards, was my ſecond. We both fired together: I ſhot him through the neck at the firſt ſhot, and he fell dead on the field.

He, alone, of all my enemies, ever died by my own hand; and he well merited his end, for his cowardly treachery toward the two brave fellows of whom I have ſpoken; and ſtill more ſo with reſpect to myſelf, who had been his benefactor. I own, I have never reproached myſelf for this duel, by which I ſent a raſcal out of the world.

I return to my tale. My deſtiny at Glatz was now become more untoward and ſevere. The king's ſuſpicions were increaſed, as likewiſe

likewiſe was his anger, by this my late attempt to eſcape.

Left to myſelf, I conſidered my ſituation in the worſt point of view, and determined either on flight or death. The length and cloſeneſs of my confinement became inſupportable to my impatient temper.

I had always had the garriſon on my ſide, nor was it poſſible to prevent my making friends among them. They knew I had money, and, in a poor garriſon regiment, the officers of which are all diſſatisfied, having moſt of them been draughted from other corps and ſent thither as a puniſhment, there was nothing that might not be undertaken.

My ſcheme was as follows:

My window looked toward the city, and was ninety feet from the ground in the tower of the citadel, out of which I could not get, without having found a place of refuge in the city.

This an officer undertook to procure me, and prevailed on an honeſt ſoap-boiler to grant me a hiding-place. I then notched my penknife, and ſawed through three large

iron

iron bars; but this mode was too tedious, it being neceſſary to file away eight bars from my window, before I could paſs through: another officer therefore procured me a file, which I was obliged to uſe with caution, leſt I ſhould be overheard by the centinels.

Having ended this labour, I cut my leather portmanteau into thongs, ſewed them end to end, added the ſheets of my bed, and deſcended ſafely from this aſtoniſhing height.

It rained, the night was dark, and all ſeemed fortunate; but I had to wade through moats full of mud, before I could enter the city, a circumſtance I had never once conſidered. I ſunk up to the knees, and, after long ſtruggling, and incredible efforts to extricate myſelf, I was obliged to call the centinel, and deſire him to go, and tell the governor, Trenck was ſtuck faſt in the moat.

My misfortune was the greater on this occaſion, becauſe that general Fouquet was then governor of Glatz. He was one of the cruelleſt of men. He had been

wounded

wounded by my father in a duel; and the Auſtrian Trenck had taken his baggage in 1744, and had alſo laid the country of Glatz under contribution. He was therefore an enemy to the very name of Trenck; nor did he loſe any opportunity of giving me proofs of his enmity, and eſpecially on the preſent occaſion, when he left me ſtanding in the mire till noon, the ſport of the ſoldiers. I was then drawn out, half dead, only again to be priſoned, and ſhut up the whole day, without water to waſh me. No one can imagine how I looked, exhauſted and dirty, my long hair having fallen into the mud, with which, by my ſtruggling, it was loaded. I remained in this condition till the next day, when two fellow priſoners were ſent to aſſiſt and clean me.

My impriſonment now became more intolerable. I had ſtill eighty louis-d'ors in my purſe, which had not been taken from me at my removal into another dungeon, and theſe afterward did me good ſervice.

The paſſions ſoon all aſſailed me at once, and impetuous, boiling, youthful blood over-

overpowered reaſon; hope diſappeared; I thought myſelf the moſt unfortunate of men, and my king an irreconcileable judge, more wrathful and more fortified in ſuſpicion by my own raſhneſs. My nights were ſleepleſs, my days miſerable: my ſoul was tortured by the deſire of fame: a conſciouſneſs of innocence was a continued ſtimulus inciting me to end my misfortunes. Youth, inexperienced in woe and diſaſtrous feat, beholds every evil magnified, and deſponds on every new diſappointment, more eſpecially after having failed in attempting freedom. Education had taught me to deſpiſe death, and theſe opinions had been confirmed by my friend La Metrie, author of the famous work, *L'Homme Machine*, or Man a Machine.

I read much during my confinement at Glatz, where books were allowed me; time was therefore leſs tedious: but when the love of liberty awoke, when fame and affection called me to Berlin, and my balked hopes painted the wretchedneſs of my ſituation; when I remembered that my loved

country,

country, judging by appearances, could not but pronounce me a traitor; then was I hourly impelled to ruſh on the naked bayonets of my guards, by whom, to me, the road of freedom was barred.

Big with ſuch-like thoughts, eight days had not elapſed, ſince my laſt fruitleſs attempt to eſcape, when an event happened which would appear incredible, were I the principal actor in the ſcene, not alive to atteſt its truth, and might not all Glatz, and the Pruſſian garriſon, be produced as eye and ear witneſſes. This incident will prove that adventurous, and even raſh, daring will render the moſt improbable undertakings poſſible, and that deſperate attempts may often make a general more fortunate, and famous, than the wiſeſt and beſt-concerted plans.

Major Doo* came to viſit me, accompanied by an officer of the guard, and an adjutant.

* The ſame Doo who was governor of Glatz during the ſeven years' war, and who, having been ſurpriſed by general Laudohn, was made priſoner, which occaſioned the loſs of Glatz. The king broke him with infamy,

adjutant. After examining every corner of my chamber, he addreſſed me, taxing me with a ſecond crime in endeavouring to obtain my liberty; adding, this muſt certainly increaſe the anger of the king.

My blood boiled at the word crime: he talked of patience; I aſked him how long the king had condemned me to impriſonment? He anſwered, "A traitor to his coun-" try, who has correſponded with the ene-" my, cannot be condemned for a certain " time; but muſt depend, for grace and par-" don, on the king."

At that inſtant I ſnatched his ſword from his ſide, on which my eyes had ſome

infamy, and baniſhed him with contempt. In 1764, he came to Vienna, where I gave him alms. He was by birth an Italian, a ſelfiſh, wicked man; and, while major under the government of Fouquet, at Glatz, brought many people to miſery. He was the creature of Fouquet, without birth or merit, crafty, malignant, but handſome; and, having debauched his patron's daughter, afterwards married her; whence at firſt his good, and at length his ill, fortune. He wanted knowledge to defend a fortreſs againſt the enemy, and his covetouſneſs rendered him eaſy to corrupt.

time been fixed, ſprang out of the door, tumbled the centinel from the top to the bottom of the ſtairs, paſſed the men who happened to be drawn up before the priſon door to relieve guard, attacked them ſword in hand, threw them ſuddenly into ſurpriſe by the manner in which I laid about me, wounded four of them, made through the reſt, ſprang over the breaſt-work of the ramparts, and, with my ſword drawn in my hand, immediately leaped this aſtoniſhing height, without receiving the leaſt injury. I leaped the ſecond wall with equal ſafety and good fortune. None of their pieces were loaded: no one durſt leap after me, and, in order to purſue, they muſt go round through the town and the gate of the citadel; ſo that I had the ſtart full half an hour.

A centinel, however, in a narrow paſſage endeavoured to oppoſe my flight, but I parried his fixed bayonet, and wounded him in the face. A ſecond centinel, meantime, ran from the outworks, to ſeize me behind, and I, to avoid him, made a

ſpring at the paliſadoes; there I was unluckily caught by the foot, and received a bayonet wound in my upper lip: thus entangled, they beat me with the butt-end of their muſkets, and dragged me back to priſon, while I ſtruggled and defended myſelf like a man grown deſperate.

Certain it is, had I more carefully jumped the paliſadoes, and diſpatched the centinel who oppoſed me, I might have eſcaped, and gained the mountains. Thus might I have fled to Bohemia, after having, at noon day, broken from the fortreſs of Glatz, ſprung paſt all its centinels, over all its walls, and paſſed with impunity, in deſpite of the guard, who were under arms, ready to oppoſe me. I ſhould not, having a ſword, have feared any ſingle opponent, and was able to contend with the ſwifteſt runners.

That good fortune which had ſo far attended me, forſook me at the palliſadoes, where hope was at an end. The ſeverities of impriſonment were increaſed; two centinels and an under officer were locked in with me, and were themſelves guarded by

centinels without: I was beaten and wounded by the butt-ends of their muſkets, my right foot was ſprained, I ſpit blood, and my wounds were not cured in leſs than a month.

I was now firſt informed the king had only condemned me to a year's impriſonment, in order to learn whether his ſuſpicions were well founded. My mother had petitioned for me, and was anſwered, "Your "ſon muſt remain a year impriſoned, as a "puniſhment for his raſh correſpondence."

Of this I was ignorant, and it was reported in Glatz, that my impriſonment was for life. I had only three weeks longer to repine for the loſs of liberty, when I made this raſh attempt. What muſt the king think? Was he not obliged to act with this ſeverity? How could prudence excuſe my impatience, thus to riſk a confiſcation, when I was certain of receiving freedom, juſtification, and honour, in three weeks? But, ſuch was my adverſe fate, circumſtances all tended to injure and perſecute me, till at length I gave reaſon to ſuppoſe I was a traitor,

traitor, notwithſtanding the purity of my intentions.

Once more, then, was I in a dungeon; and no ſooner was I there than I formed new projects of flight. I firſt gained the intimacy of my guards. I had money, and this, with the compaſſion I had inſpired, might effect any thing among diſcontented Ruſſian ſoldiers. Soon had I gained thirty-two men, who were ready to execute, on the firſt ſignal, whatever I ſhould command. Two or three excepted, they were unacquainted with each other; they conſequently could not all be betrayed at a time; and I had choſen the ſub-officer, Nicholai, to head them.

The garriſon conſiſted only of one hundred and twenty men from the garriſon regiment, the reſt being diſperſed in the country of Glatz, and four officers their commanders, three of whom were in my intereſt. Every thing was prepared; ſwords and piſtols were concealed in an oven, which was in my priſon. We intended to

give liberty to all the priſoners, and retire with drums beating into Bohemia.

Unfortunately, an Auſtrian deſerter, to whom Nicholai had imparted our deſign, went and diſcovered our conſpiracy. The governor inſtantly ſent his adjutant to the citadel, with orders that the officer on guard ſhould arreſt Nicholai, and, with his men, take poſſeſſion of the caſemate.

Nicholai was one of the guard, and the lieutenant was my friend, and, being in the ſecret, gave the ſignal that all was diſcovered. Nicholai only knew all the conſpirators, ſeveral of whom were that day on guard. He inſtantly formed his reſolution, leaped into the caſemates, crying, "Com-"rades, to arms, we are betrayed!" All followed to the guard-houſe, where they ſeized on the cartridges, the officer having only eight men, and, threatening to fire on whoever ſhould offer reſiſtance, came to deliver me from priſon; but the iron door was too ſtrong, and the time too ſhort, for that to be demoliſhed. Nicholai, calling

to

to me, bid me aid them, but in vain; and perceiving nothing more could be done for me, this brave man, headed nineteen others, marched to the gate of the citadel, where there was a ſub-officer and ten ſoldiers, obliged theſe to accompany him, and thus arrived ſafely at Braunau, in Bohemia; for before the news was ſpread through the city, and men were collected for the purſuit, they were nearly half way on their journey.

Two years after, I met this extraordinary man at Ofenbourg, where he was a writer: he entered immediately into my ſervice, and became my friend; but died ſome months, after of a burning fever, at my quarters in Hungary, at which I was deeply grieved, for his memory will ever be dear to me.

Now I was expoſed to all the ſtorms of ill fortune: a proſecution was entered againſt me as a conſpirator, who wanted to corrupt the officers and ſoldiers of the king. They commanded me to name the remaining conſpirators; but to theſe queſ-

tions I made no anſwer except by ſteadfaſtly declaring I was an innocent priſoner, an officer unjuſtly broken; unjuſtly, becauſe I had never been brought to trial; that conſequently I was releaſed from all my engagements; nor could it be thought extraordinary that I ſhould avail myſelf of that law of nature which gives every man a right to defend his honour defamed, and ſeek by every poſſible means to regain his liberty; that ſuch had been my ſole purpoſe in every enterpriſe I had formed, and ſuch ſhould ſtill continue to be; for I was determined to perſiſt, till I ſhould either be crowned with ſucceſs, or loſe my life in the attempt.

Things thus remained; every precaution was taken, except that I was not put in irons; it being a law in Pruſſia that no gentleman, or officer, can be loaded with chains, unleſs he has firſt for ſome crime been delivered over to the executioner; and certainly this had not been my caſe.

The ſoldiers were withdrawn from my chamber; but the greateſt ill was, I had expended

pended all my money, and my kind miſtreſs, at Berlin, with whom I had always correſponded, which my perſecutors could not prevent, at laſt wrote——

" My tears flow with yours; the evil is " without remedy—I dare no more—eſcape " if you can. My fidelity will ever be the " ſame, when it ſhall be poſſible for me to " ſerve you.—Adieu!—unhappy friend! " you merit a better fate."

This letter was a thunderbolt:—my comfort however ſtill was, that the officers were not ſuſpected, and that it was their duty to viſit my chamber ſeveral times a-day and examine what paſſed: from which circumſtance I felt my hopes ſomewhat revive. Hence an adventure happened, which is almoſt unexampled in tales of knight-errantry.

A lieutenant, whoſe name was Bach, a Dane by nation; mounted guard every fourth day, and was the terror of the whole garriſon; for, being a perfect maſter of arms, he was inceſſantly involved in quar-

rels, and generally left his marks behind him. He had ſerved in two regiments, neither of which would aſſociate with him for this reaſon, and he had been ſent to the garriſon regiment at Glatz as a puniſhment.

Bach, one day, ſitting beſide me, related how the evening before he had wounded a lieutenant, of the name of Schell, in the arm. I replied, laughing, "Had I my liberty, "I believe you would find ſome trouble in "wounding me, for I have ſome ſkill in the "ſword." The blood inſtantly flew in his face; we ſplit off a kind of a pair of foils from an old door, which had ſerved me as a table, and at the firſt lunge I hit him on the breaſt.

His rage became ungovernable, and he left the priſon. What was my aſtoniſhment when, a moment after, I ſaw him return with two ſoldier's ſwords, which he had concealed under his coat! "Now then, "boaſter, prove," ſaid he, giving me one of them, "what thou art able to do!" I endeavoured to pacify him, by repreſenting

the

the danger, but ineffectually. He attacked me with the utmoſt fury, and I wounded him in the arm.

Throwing his ſword down, he fell upon my neck, kiſſed me, and wept. At length, after ſome convulſive emotions of pleaſure, he ſaid, "Friend, thou art my maſter; and "thou muſt, thou ſhalt, by my aid, obtain "thy liberty, as certainly as my name is "Bach." We bound up his arm as well as we could. He left me, and ſecretly went to a ſurgeon, to have it properly dreſſed, and at night returned.

He now remarked that it was humanly impoſſible I ſhould eſcape, unleſs the officer on guard ſhould deſert with me; that he wiſhed nothing more ardently than to ſacrifice his life in my behalf, but that he could not reſolve ſo far to forget his honour and duty as to deſert himſelf, while on guard: he notwithſtanding gave me his word of honour he would find me ſuch a perſon in a few days, and that, in the mean time, he would prepare every thing for my flight.

He returned the ſame evening, bringing with him lieutenant Schell, and as he entered ſaid, "Here is your man." Schell embraced me, gave his word of honour, and thus was the affair ſettled, and, as it proved, my liberty aſcertained.

We ſoon began to deliberate on the means neceſſary to obtain our purpoſe. Schell was juſt come from garriſon at Habelchwert to the citadel of Glatz, and in two days was to mount guard over me, till when our attempt was ſuſpended. I have before ſaid, I received no more ſupplies from my beloved miſtreſs, and my purſe at that time only contained ſome ſix piſtoles. It was therefore reſolved that Bach ſhould go to Schweidnitz, and obtain money of a ſure friend of mine in that city.

Here I muſt inform the reader that, at this period, the officers and I all underſtood each other, Captain Roder alone excepted, who was exact, rigid, and gave trouble on all occaſions*.

* I ſhall give a farther account in my narrative of this man, which will both aſtoniſh and inſtruct the reader.

Major

Major Quaadt was my kinſman, by my mother's ſide; a good friendly man, and ardently deſirous I ſhould eſcape, ſeeing my calamities were ſo much increaſed. The four lieutenants, who ſucceſſively mounted guard over me, were Bach, Schroeder, Lunitz, and Schell. The firſt was the grand projector, and made all the preparations; Schell was to deſert with me; and Schroeder and Lunitz, three days after, were to follow.

No one ought to be ſurpriſed that officers of garriſon regiments ſhould be ſo ready to deſert. They are, in general, either men of violent paſſions, quarrelſome, overwhelmed with debts, or unfit for ſervice. They are uſually ſent to the garriſon as a puniſhment, and are called the refuſe of the army. Diſſatisfied with their ſituation, their pay much reduced, and deſpiſed by the troops, ſuch men, expecting advantage, may be brought to engage in the moſt deſperate undertaking. None of them can hope for their diſcharge, and they live in the utmoſt poverty. They all hoped, by my

means,

means, to better their fortune, I always having had money enough; and with money nothing is more eaſy than to find friends, in places where each individual is deſirous of eſcaping from ſlavery.

The talents of Schell were of a ſuperior order; he ſpoke and wrote ſix languages, and was well acquainted with all the fine arts. He had ſerved in the regiment of Fouquet, had been injured by his colonel, who was a Pomeranian; and Fouquet, who was no friend to well-informed officers, had ſent him to a garriſon regiment. He had twice demanded his diſmiſſion, but the king ſent him then to this ſpecies of impriſonment; he then determined to avenge himſelf by deſerting, and was ready to aid me in recovering my freedom, that he might by that means ſpite Fouquet.

I ſhall ſpeak more hereafter of this extraordinary man, that I may not in this place interrupt my ſtory.—We determined every thing ſhould be prepared againſt the firſt time Schell mounted guard, and that our project ſhould be executed on the next.

Thus,

Thus, as he mounted guard every four days, the eighth was to be that of our flight.

The governor mean-time had been informed how familiar I was become with the officers; at which taking offence, he ſent orders that my door ſhould no more be opened, but that I ſhould receive my food through a ſmall window that had been made for that purpoſe. The care of the priſon was committed to the major, and he was forbidden to eat with me, under pain of being broken.

His precautions were ineffectual; the officers procured a falſe key, and remained with me half the day and night.

Captain Damnitz was impriſoned in an apartment by the ſide of mine. This man had deſerted from the Pruſſian ſervice, with the money belonging to his company, to Auſtria, where he obtained a commiſſion in his couſin's regiment, who having prevailed on him to ſerve as a ſpy, during the campaign of 1744, he was taken in the Pruſſian territories, known, and condemned to be hanged.

Some

Some Swediſh volunteers, who were then in the army, intereſted themſelves in his behalf, and his ſentence was changed to perpetual impriſonment, with a ſentence of infamy.

This wretch, who, two years after, by the aid of his protectors, not only obtained his liberty, but a lieutenant-colonel's commiſſion, was the ſecret ſpy of the major over the priſoners; and he remarked that, notwithſtanding the expreſs prohibition laid on the officers, they ſtill paſſed the greater part of their time in my company.

The 24th of December came, and Schell mounted guard. He entered my priſon immediately, where he continued a long time; and we made our arrangements for flight when he next ſhould mount guard.

Lieutenant Schroeder that day dined with the governor, and heard orders given to the adjutant that Schell ſhould be taken from the guard, and put under arreſt.

Schroeder, who was in the ſecret, had no doubt but that we were betrayed, not knowing that the ſpy Damnitz had informed

the

the governor that Schell was then in my chamber.

Schroeder, full of terror, came running to the citadel, and ſaid to Schell, " Save thy-
" ſelf, friend; all is diſcovered, and thou
" wilt inſtantly be put under arreſt."

Schell might eaſily have provided for his own ſafety, by flying ſingly, Schroeder having prepared horſes, on one of which he himſelf offered to accompany him into Bohemia.

**How did this worthy man, in a moment ſo dangerous, act toward his friend?**

**Running ſuddenly into my priſon, he drew a corporal's ſabre from under his coat,** and ſaid, " Friend, we are betrayed; follow
" me, only do not ſuffer me to fall alive into
" the hands of my enemies."

I would have ſpoken; but interrupting me, and taking me by the hand, he added, " Follow me, we have not a moment to
" loſe." I therefore ſlipt on my coat and boots, without having time to take the little money I had left; and, as we went out of the priſon, Schell ſaid to the centinel, " I

" am

" am taking the priſoner into the officer's " apartment; ſtand where you are."

Into this room we really went, but paſſed out at the other door. The deſign of Schell was to go under the arſenal, which was not far off, to gain the covered way, leap the paliſadoes, and afterward eſcape after the beſt manner we might. We had ſcarcely gone a hundred paces before we met the adjutant and major Quaadt.

Schell ſtarted back, ſprang upon the rampart, and leaped from the wall, which was there not very high. I followed, and alighted unhurt, except having grazed my ſhoulder. My poor friend was not ſo fortunate, having put out his ancle. He immediately drew his ſword, preſented it to me, and begged me to diſpatch him, and fly. He was a ſmall weak man; but, far from complying with his requeſt, I took him in my arms, threw him over the paliſadoes, afterwards got him on my back, and began to run, without very well knowing which way I went.

It may not be unneceſſary to remark thoſe fortunate

fortunate circumſtances that favoured our enterpriſe.

The ſun had juſt ſet as we took to flight; the hoar froſt fell. No one would run the riſk that we had done, by making ſo dangerous a leap. We heard a terrible noiſe behind us. Every body knew us; but before they could go round the citadel, and through the town, in order to purſue us, we had got a full half league.

The alarm guns were fired before we were a hundred paces diſtant; at which my friend was very much terrified, knowing that, in ſuch caſes, it was generally impoſſible to eſcape from Glatz, unleſs the fugitives had got the ſtart full two hours before the alarm guns were heard; the paſſes being immediately all ſtopped by the peaſants and huſſars, who are exceedingly vigilant. No ſooner is a priſoner miſſed than the gunner runs from the guard houſe and fires the cannon on the three ſides of the fortreſs, which are kept loaded day and night for that purpoſe.

We were not five hundred paces from the walls when all, before us and behind us,

us, were in motion. It was day-light when we leaped, yet was our attempt as fortunate as it was wonderful. This I attribute to my preſence of mind, and the reputation I had already acquired, which made it thought a ſervice of danger for two or three men to attack me.

It was, beſide, imagined we were well provided with arms for our defence; and it was little ſuſpected that Schell had only his ſword, and I an old corporal's ſabre.

Among the officers commanded to purſue us, was lieutenant Bart, my intimate friend. Captain Zerbſt, of the regiment of Fouquet, who had always teſtified the kindneſs of a brother toward me, met us on the Bohemian frontiers, and called to me,—"Make to the "left, brother, and you will ſee ſome lone "houſes, which are on the Bohemian con- "fines: the huſſars have rode ſtraight for- "ward." He then paſſed on, as if he had not ſeen us.

We had nothing to fear from the officers; for the intimacy between the Pruſſian officers was at that time ſo great, and the word of honour ſo ſacred, that during my rigorous detention

detention at Glatz I had been once ſix and thirty hours hunting at Neurode, at the ſeat of baron Stillfriede: Lunitz had taken my place in the priſon, which the major knew when he came to make his viſit. Hence may be conjectured how great was the confidence in which the word of the unfortunate Trenck was held at Glatz; ſince they did not fear letting him leave his dungeon, and hunt on the very confines of Bohemia. This too ſhows the governor was deceived, in deſpite of his watchfulneſs and orders; and that a man of honour, with money, and a good head and heart, will never want friends.

Theſe my memoirs will be the picture of what the national character then was; and will prove that, with officers who lived like brothers, and held their words ſo ſacred, the great Frederic well might vanquiſh his enemies.

Arbitrary power has now introduced the whip of ſlavery, and mechanic ſubordination has eradicated thoſe noble and rational incitements to concord and honour. Inſtead

ſtead of which, miſtruſt and ſlaviſh fear have ariſen; the enthuſiaſtic ſpirit of the Brandenburg warrior declines; and into this error have moſt of the other European ſtates fallen.

Scarcely had I borne my friend three hundred paces before I ſat him down, and looked round me; but darkneſs came on ſo faſt that I could ſee neither town nor citadel; conſequently we ourſelves could not be ſeen.

My preſence of mind did not forſake me: death or freedom was my determination. "Where are we, Schell?" ſaid I to my friend; "where does Bohemia lie? On which ſide is "the river Neiſs?" The worthy man could make no anſwer: his mind was all confuſion, and he deſpaired of our eſcape: he ſtill, however, intreated I would not let him be taken alive; and affirmed my labour was all in vain.

After having promiſed, by all that was ſacred, I would ſave him from an infamous death, if no other means were left, and thus raiſed his ſpirits, he looked round, and knew

knew by ſome trees we were not far from the city gates. I aſked him, Where is the Neiſs? He pointed ſideways—" All Glatz " has ſeen us fly toward the Bohemian " mountains; it is impoſſible we ſhould " avoid the huſſars, the paſſes being all " guarded, and we beſet with enemies." So ſaying, I took him on my ſhoulders, and carried him to the Neiſs: here we diſtinctly heard the alarm ſounding in the villages; and the peaſants, who likewiſe were to form the line of deſertion, were every-where in motion, and ſpreading the alarm. As it may not be known to all my readers in what manner they proceed on theſe occaſions in Pruſſia, I will here give a ſhort account of it.

Officers are daily named, on the parade, whoſe duty it is to follow fugitives as ſoon as the alarm guns are fired.

The peaſants in the villages, likewiſe, are daily appointed to run to the guard of certain poſts. The officers immediately fly to theſe poſts to ſee that the peaſants do their duty, and prevent the priſoner's eſcape.

Thus

Thus does it ſeldom happen that a ſoldier can effect his eſcape, unleſs he be, at the very leaſt, an hour on his road before the alarm guns were fired.

I now return to my ſtory.

I came to the Neiſs, which was a little frozen, entered it with my friend, and carried him as long as I could wade; and when I could not feel the bottom, which did not continue for more than a ſpace of eighteen feet, he clung round me, and thus we got ſafely to the other ſhore.

My father taught all his ſons to ſwim, for which I have often had to thank him; ſince by means of this art, which is eaſily learnt in childhood, I had on various occaſions preſerved my life, and was more bold in danger. Princes who wiſh to make their ſubjects ſoldiers, ſhould have them educated ſo as to fear neither fire nor water. How great would be the advantage of being able to croſs a river with whole battalions, when it is neceſſary to attack, or retreat before the enemy, and when time will not permit to prepare bridges!

The reader will eaſily ſuppoſe ſwimming in the midſt of December, and remaining afterward eighteen hours in the open air, was a ſevere hardſhip. About ſeven o'clock the hoar fog was ſucceeded by froſt and moon-light. The carrying of my friend kept me warm, it is true; but I began to be tired, while he ſuffered every thing that froſt, the pain of a diſlocated foot, which I in vain endeavoured to reſet, and the danger of death from a thouſand hands, could inflict.

We were ſomewhat more tranquil, however, having reached the oppoſite ſhore of the Neiſs, ſince nobody would purſue us on the road to Sileſia. I followed the courſe of the river for half an hour, and having once paſſed the firſt villages that formed the line of deſertion, with which Schell was perfectly acquainted, we in a lucky moment found a fiſherman's boat moored to the ſhore. Into this we leaped, croſſed the river again, and ſoon gained the mountains.

Here being come, we ſat ourſelves down awhile on the ſnow: hope revived in our

hearts, and we held council concerning how it was beſt to act. I cut a ſtick to aſſiſt Schell in hopping forward, as well as he could, when I was tired of carrying him; and thus we continued our route, the difficulties of which were increaſed by the mountain ſnows.

Thus paſſed the night; during which, up to the middle in ſnow, we made but little way. There were no paths to be traced in the mountains; and they were in many places impaſſable. Day at length appeared: we thought ourſelves near the frontiers, which are twenty Engliſh miles from Glatz, when we ſuddenly, to our great terror, heard the city clock ſtrike.

Overwhelmed, as we were, by hunger, cold, fatigue, and pain, it was impoſſible we ſhould hold out through the day. After ſome conſideration, and another half hour's labour, we came to a village at the foot of the mountain, on the ſide of which, about three hundred paces from us, we perceived two ſeparate houſes, which inſpired us with a ſtratagem that was ſucceſsful.

We

We loſt our hats in leaping the ramparts; but Schell had preſerved his ſcarf and gorget, which would give him authority among the peaſants.

I then cut my finger, rubbed the blood over my face, my ſhirt, and my coat, and bound up my head, to give myſelf the appearance of a man dangerouſly wounded.

In this condition I carried Schell to the end of the wood not far from theſe houſes: here he tied my hands behind my back, but ſo that I could eaſily diſengage them in caſe of need, and hobbled after me, by aid of his ſtaff, calling for help.

Two old peaſants appeared, and Schell commanded them to run to the village, and tell a magiſtrate to come immediately with a cart. "I have ſeiſed this knave," added he, "who has killed my horſe, and in the "ſtruggle I have put out my ancle; how-"ever I have wounded and bound him: fly "quickly, bring a cart, leſt he ſhould die "before he is hanged."

As for me, I ſuffered myſelf to be led, as if half dead, into the houſe. A peaſant

was diſpatched to the village. An old woman and a pretty girl ſeemed to take great pity on me, and gave me ſome bread and milk: but how great was our aſtoniſhment when the aged peaſant called Schell by his name, and told him he well knew we were deſerters, having the night before been at a neighbouring alehouſe, where the officer in purſuit of us came, named and deſcribed us, and related the whole hiſtory of our flight. The peaſant knew Schell, becauſe his ſon ſerved in his company, and had often ſpoken of him when he was quartered at Habelſchwert.

Preſence of mind and reſolution were all that were now left. I inſtantly ran to the ſtable, while Schell detained the peaſant in the chamber: he however was a worthy man, and directed him the road toward Bohemia. We were ſtill but about ſome ſeven miles from Glatz, having loſt ourſelves among the mountains, where we had wandered many miles. The daughter followed me: I found three horſes in the ſtable, but no bridles. I conjured her, in the moſt

paſſionate

paſſionate manner, to aſſiſt me: ſhe was affected, ſeemed half willing to follow me, and gave me two bridles. I led the horſes to the door, called Schell, and helped him, with his lame leg, on horſeback. The old peaſant then began to weep, and beg I would not take his horſes; but he luckily wanted courage, and perhaps the will to impede us; for with nothing more than a dung-fork, in our then feeble condition, he might have ſtopped us long enough to have called in aſſiſtance from the village.

And now behold us on horſeback, without hats or ſaddles; Schell with his uniform ſcarf and gorget, and I in my red regimental coat. Still were we in danger of ſeeing all our hopes vaniſh, for my horſe would not ſtir from the ſtable: however, at laſt, good horſeman like, I made him move. Schell led the way; and we had ſcarcely gone a hundred paces before we perceived the peaſants coming in crowds from the village.

As kind fortune would have it, the people were all at church, it being a feſtival: the peaſants Schell had ſent were obliged to call

aid out of church. It was but nine in the morning; and had the peaſants been at home, we had been loſt paſt redemption.

We were obliged to take the road to Wunſhelburg, and paſs through the town, where Schell had been quartered a month before, and in which he was known by every body. Our dreſs, without hats or ſaddles, ſufficiently proclaimed we were deſerters: our horſes, however, continued to go tolerably well; and we had good luck to get through the town, although there was a garriſon of one hundred and eighty infantry, and twelve horſe, purpoſely to arreſt deſerters. Schell knew the road to Brummen, where we arrived at eleven o'clock, after having met, as I before mentioned, captain Zerbſt.

He who has been in the ſame ſituation only can imagine, though he never can deſcribe, all the joy we felt. An innocent man, languiſhing in a dungeon, who, by his own endeavours, has broken his chains, and regained his liberty, in deſpite of all the arbitrary power of princes, who vainly would

oppoſe

oppoſe him, conceives, in moments like theſe, ſuch an abhorrence of deſpotiſm, that I could not well comprehend how I ever could reſolve to live under governments where wealth, content, honour, liberty, and life, all depend upon a maſter's will, and who, were his intentions the moſt pure, could not be able, ſingly, to do juſtice to a whole nation.

Never did I, during life, feel pleaſure more exquiſite than at this moment. My friend for me had riſked a ſhameful death, and now, after having carried him at leaſt twelve hours on my ſhoulders, I had ſaved both him and myſelf. We certainly ſhould not have ſuffered any man to bring us alive back again to Glatz. Yet this was but the firſt act of the tragedy of which I was doomed the hero, and the mournful incidents of which all aroſe out of, and depended on, each other.

Could I have read the book of fate, and have ſeen the forty years fearful afflictions that were to follow, I certainly ſhould not have rejoiced at this my eſcape from Glatz. One year's patience might have appeaſed

the irritated monarch; and, taking a retroſpect of all that has paſſed, I now find it would have been a fortunate circumſtance had the good and faithful Schell and I never met, ſince he alſo fell into a train of misfortunes, which I ſhall hereafter relate, and from which he could never extricate himſelf but by death. The ſufferings which I have ſince undergone will be read with aſtoniſhment.

It is my conſolation that both the laws of honour and nature juſtify the action. I may ſerve as an example of the fortitude with which danger ought to be encountered, and ſhow monarchs that in Germany, as well as in Rome, there are men who refuſe to crouch beneath the yoke of deſpotiſm, and that philoſophy and reſolution are ſtronger than even thoſe lords of ſlaves, with all their threats, whips, tortures, and inſtruments of death.

In Pruſſia, where my ſufferings might have made me ſuppoſed the worſt of traitors, is my innocence univerſally acknowledged; and inſtead of contempt, there have I gained the love of the whole nation, which is the

beſt

beſt compenſation for all the ills I have ſuffered, and for having perſevered in the virtuous principles taught me in my youth, perſecuted, as I have been, by envy and malicious power. I have not time further to moraliſe; the numerous incidents of my life would otherwiſe ſwell theſe volumes to too great an extent.

Thus in freedom at Braunau, on the Bohemian frontiers, I ſent the two horſes, with the corporal's ſword, back to general Fouquet, at Glatz. The letter accompanying them was ſo pleaſing to him, that all the centinels before my priſon door, as well as the guard under arms, and all thoſe we paſſed, were obliged to run the gauntlet, although, the very day before, he had himſelf declared my eſcape was now rendered impoſſible. He, however, was deceived; and thus do the mean revenge themſelves on the miſerable, and the tyrant on the innocent.

And now, for the firſt time, did I quit my country, and fly, like Joſeph, from the pit into which his falſe brethren had caſt him: and in this the preſent moment of joy for

my eſcape, the loſs even of friends and country appeared to me the exceſs of good fortune.

The eſtates which had been purchaſed by the blood of my forefathers were confiſcated; and thus was a youth, of one of the nobleſt families in the land, whoſe heart was all zeal for the ſervice of his king and country, and who was among thoſe moſt capable to render them ſervice, baniſhed by this unjuſt and miſled king, and treated like the worſt of miſcreants, malefactors, and traitors.

I wrote to the king, and ſent him a true ſtate of my caſe; ſent indubitable proofs of my innocence, and ſupplicated juſtice, but received no anſwer.

In this the monarch may be juſtified, at leaſt in my apprehenſion. A wicked man had maliciouſly and falſely accuſed me; colonel Jaſchinſky had made him ſuſpect me for a traitor, and it was impoſſible he ſhould read my heart. The firſt act of injuſtice had been haſtily committed; I had been condemned unheard, unjudged, and the injuſtice that had been done me was known

too

too late; Frederic *the Great* found he was not infallible. Pardon I would not aſk, for I had committed no offence; and the king would not probably own, by a reverſe of conduct, he had been guilty of injuſtice. My reſolution increaſed his obſtinacy; but, in the diſcuſſion of the cauſe, our power was very unequal.

The monarch once really loved me; he meant my puniſhment ſhould only be temporary, and as a trial of my fidelity. That I had been condemned to no more than a year's impriſonment had never been told me, and was a fact I did not learn till long after.

Major Doo, who as I have ſaid was the creature of Fouquet, a mean and covetous man, knowing I had money, had always acted the part of a protector, as he pretended to me, and continually told me I was condemned for life. He perpetually turned the converſation on the great credit of his general with the king, and his own great credit with the general. For the preſent of a horſe, on which I rode to Glatz, he

gave me the freedom of walking about the fortreſs; and for another, worth a hundred ducats, I reſcued enſign Reitz from death, who had been betrayed when endeavouring to effect our eſcape. I have been aſſured that, on that very day on which I ſnatched his ſword from his ſide, deſperately paſſed through the garriſon, and leaped the walls of the rampart, he was expreſsly come to tell me, after ſome prefatory threats, that, by his general's interceſſion, my puniſhment was only to be a year's impriſonment, and that, conſequently, I ſhould be releaſed in a few days.

How vile were means like theſe to wreſt money from the unfortunate! The king, after this my mad flight, certainly was never informed of the major's baſe cunning; he could only be told that, rather than wait a few days, I had choſen, in this deſperate manner, to make my eſcape, and go over to the enemy.

Thus deceived and ſtrengthened in his ſuſpicion, muſt he not imagine my deſire to forſake my country, and deſert to the enemy,

was

was unbounded? How could he do otherwiſe than impriſon a ſubject, who thus endeavoured to injure him, and aid his foes? Thus, by the calumnies of wicked men, did my cruel deſtiny daily become more ſevere, and at length render the deceived monarch irreconcileable and cruel.

Yet how could it be ſuppoſed that I would not willingly have remained three weeks longer in priſon, to have been honourably reſtored to liberty; to have prevented the confiſcation of my eſtate; and to have once more returned to my loved miſtreſs at Berlin?

And now was I, in Bohemia, a fugitive ſtranger, without money, protector, or friend, and only twenty years of age.

In the campaign of 1744, I had been quartered at Braunau, with a weaver, whom I adviſed and aſſiſted to bury his effects, and preſerve them from being plundered. The worthy man received us with joy and gratitude. I had lived in this ſame houſe, but two years before, as abſolute maſter of him and his fate. I had then nine horſes and five ſervants, with the higheſt and moſt favourable

vourable hopes of futurity: but now I came a fugitive, ſeeking protection, and having loſt all a youth like me had to loſe.

I had but a ſingle louis d'or in my purſe, and Schell forty kreutzers, or ſome three ſhillings: with this ſmall ſum, in a ſtrange country, we had to cure his ſprain, and provide for all our wants.

I was determined not to go to my couſin Trenck, at Vienna, fearful this ſhould ſeem a juſtification of all my imputed treaſons; I rather wiſhed to embark for the Eaſt Indies, than to have recourſe to this expedient. The greater my delicacy was, the greater became my diſtreſs. I wrote to my miſtreſs at Berlin, but received no anſwer; poſſibly becauſe I could not indicate any certain mode of conveyance. My mother believed me guilty, and abandoned me; my brothers were ſtill minors; and my friend, at Schweidnitz, could not aid me, being gone to Konigſberg.

After three weeks abode at Braunau, my friend recovered of his lameneſs. We had been obliged to ſell my watch, with his ſcarf

and

and gorget, to ſupply our neceſſities; and had only four florins remaining.

From the public papers I learnt, my couſin, the Auſtrian Trenck, was at this time cloſely confined, and under criminal proſecution. It will eaſily be imagined what effect this news had upon me.

Never till now had I felt any inconvenience from poverty; my wants had all been amply ſupplied, and I had ever lived among, and been highly loved and eſteemed by, the firſt people of the land. I was now deſtitute, without aid, and undetermined how to ſeek employment or obtain fame.

At length I determined to travel, on foot, to Pruſſia, to my mother, and obtain money from her, and afterward enter into the Ruſſian ſervice. Schell, whoſe deſtiny was linked to mine, would not forſake me. We aſſumed falſe names; I called myſelf Knert, and Schell, Leſch; then obtaining paſſports, like common deſerters, we left Braunau on the 21ſt of January in the evening, unſeen of any perſon, and proceeded towards Bilitz in Poland. A friend I had at Neurode gave

me

me a pair of pocket piſtols, a muſket, and three ducats; the money was ſpent at Braunau. Here let me take occaſion to remark, I had lent this friend, in urgent neceſſity, a hundred ducats, which he ſtill owed me; and, when I ſent to requeſt payment, he returned me three, as if I had aſked charity.

Though a circumſtantial deſcription of our travels would alone fill a volume, I ſhall only relate the moſt ſingular accidents which happened to us; I ſhall alſo inſert the journal of our route, which my friend Schell had preſerved, and gave me, in 1776, when he came to ſee me at Aix-la-Chapelle, after an abſence of thirty years.

This may be called the firſt ſcene in which I appeared as an adventurer; and perhaps my good fortune may even have overbalanced the bad, ſince I have eſcaped death full thirty times, when the chances were at leaſt a hundred to one againſt me: certain it is, I undertook many things in which I ſeemed to have owed my preſervation to the very raſhneſs of the action, and in which others equally brave would have found death.

JOURNAL

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*Of travels on foot, from Braunau, in Bohemia, through Bilitz in Poland, to Meſeritz; and from Meſeritz by Thorn, to Elbing; in the whole* 169 *miles*, performed without begging or ſtealing.*

Jan. 18, 1747. From Braunau, by Politz, to Nachod, three miles, we having three florins forty-five kreutzers in our purſe.

Jan. 19. To Neuſtadt. Here Schell bartered his uniform for an old coat; and a Jew gave him two florins fifteen kreutzers in exchange: from hence we went to Reichenau; in all three miles.

Jan. 20. We went to Leutomiſchel, five miles. Here I bought a loaf hot out of the oven, which, eating greedily, had nearly cauſed my death. This obliged us

* The German mile contains from four to ſeven Engliſh miles; and this variation appears to depend on the ignorance of the people, and on the roads being in ſome places but little frequented. It ſeems probable the Baron and his friend might travel about 800 Engliſh miles. T.

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to reſt a day; and the extravagant charge of the landlord almoſt emptied our purſe.

Jan. 22. From Tribau to Zwittaw in Moravia, four miles.

Jan. 23. To Sternberg, ſix miles. This day's journey exceſſively fatigued poor Schell; his ſprained ancle being ſtill extremely weak.

Jan. 24. To Leipnitz, four miles; in a deep ſnow, and with empty ſtomachs. Here I ſold my ſtock-buckle for four florins.

Jan. 25. To Freyberg, by Weiſkirch, to Drachotuſch, five miles. Early in the morning we found a violin and caſe on the road; the innkeeper in Weiſkirch gave us two florins for it, on condition that he ſhould return it to the owner, on proving his right; it being worth at leaſt twenty.

Jan. 26. To Freideck, in Upper Sileſia, two miles.

Jan. 27. To a village, four miles and a half.

Jan. 28. Through Scotſcha to Bilitz, three miles. This was the laſt Auſtrian town on the frontiers of Poland; and captain

tain Capi, of the regiment of Mariſchall, who commanded the garriſon, demanded our paſſports. We had falſe names, and called ourſelves common Pruſſian deſerters; but a drummer who had deſerted from Glatz knew us, and betrayed us to the captain, who immediately arreſted us very rudely, and ſent us on foot to Teſchin, refuſing us a hearing, four miles diſtant.

Here we found lieutenant-colonel baron Schwarzer, a perfectly worthy man, who was highly intereſted in our behalf, and who blamed the irregular arbitrary conduct of captain Capi. I frankly related my adventures, and he uſed every poſſible argument to perſuade me, inſtead of continuing my journey through Poland, to go to Vienna; but in vain: my good genius this time preſerved me: would to God it had ever! How many miſeries had I then avoided, and how eaſily might I have eſcaped the ſnares ſpread for me by the powerful, who have ſeized on my property, and, in order to ſecure it, have hitherto rendered me uſeleſs to the ſtate, by depriving me of all poſt or employment.

I returned

I returned, therefore, a ſecond time to Bilitz, travelling theſe four miles once more. Schwarzer lent us his own horſe, and four ducats, which I have ſince repaid, but which I ſhall never forget, as they were of ſignal ſervice to me, and procured me a pair of new boots.

Irritated againſt captain Capi, we paſſed through Bilitz without ſtopping, went immediately to Biala, the firſt town in Poland, and from thence I ſent Capi a challenge to fight me with ſword or piſtol, but received no anſwer; and his non-appearance has ever confirmed him in my opinion a raſcal.

And here ſuffer me to take a retroſpective view of what was my then ſituation. By the orders of Capi I was ſent priſoner as a contemptible common deſerter, and was unable to call him to account. In Poland, indeed, I had that power, but was deſpiſed as a vagabond, becauſe of my poverty. What, alas! are the advantages which the love of honour, ſcience, courage, or deſire of fame can beſtow, wanting the means that ſhould introduce us to, and bid us walk

erect

erect in preſence of our equals? Youth, depreſſed by poverty, is robbed of the ſociety of thoſe who beſt can afford example and inſtruction. I had lived familiar with the great; men of genius had formed and enlightened me; I had been enumerated among the favourites of a court; and now was I a ſtranger, unknown, uneſteemed, nay, contemned, obliged to endure the extremes of cold, hunger, and thirſt; to wander many a weary mile, ſuffering both in body and mind, while every ſtep led me farther from her whom I moſt loved, and deareſt; yet had I no fixed plan, no certain knowledge in what theſe my labours and ſufferings ſhould end.

I was too proud to diſcover myſelf; but indeed to whom could I diſcover myſelf in a ſtrange land? My name might have availed me in Auſtria; but in Auſtria, where this name was known, would I not remain; rather than ſeek my fortune there, I was determined to ſhun whatever might tend to render me ſuſpicious in the eyes of my country. How liable was a temper, ſo ar-

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dent as mine, in the midſt of difficulties, fatigues, and diſappointments, hard to endure, to betray me into all thoſe errors of which raſh youth, unaccuſtomed to hardſhip, impatient of contrariety, are ſo often guilty! But I had taken my reſolution; and my faithful Schell, to whom hunger, or eaſe, contempt, or fame, for my ſake, were become indifferent, did whatever I deſired.

Once more to my journal.

Feb. 1. We proceeded four miles from Biala to Oſwintzin, I having determined to aſk aid from my ſiſter, who had married Waldow, and lived, much at her eaſe, on a fine eſtate at Hanmer in Brandenburgh, between Lanſberg on the Warta and Meſeritz, a frontier town of Poland. For this reaſon we continued our route all along the Sileſian confines to Meſeritz.

Feb. 2. To Bobrek and Elkuſch, five miles. We ſuffered much this day becauſe of the ſnow, and that the lightneſs of our dreſs was ill ſuited to ſuch ſevere weather. Schell, negligently, loſt our purſe, in which were nine florins. I had ſtill, however,

nineteen

nineteen groſch in my pocket (about half-a-crown).

Feb. 3. To Crumelew, three miles; and

Feb. 4. To Wladowiegud Joreck, three miles more; and from thence, on

Feb. 5. To Czenſtochowa, where there is a magnificent convent, concerning which, had I room, I might write many remarkable things, much to the diſgrace of its inhabitants.

We ſlept at an inn kept by a very worthy man, whoſe name was Lazar. He had been a lieutenant in the Auſtrian ſervice, where he had ſuffered much, and was now become a poor innkeeper in Poland. We had not a penny in our purſe, and requeſted a bit of bread. The generous man had compaſſion on us, and deſired us to ſit down, and eat with himſelf. I then told him who we were, and truſted him with the motives of our journey. Scarcely had we ſupped before a carriage arrived, with three people. They had their own horſes, a ſervant, and a coachman.

This is a remarkable incident, and I muſt relate

relate it circumſtantially, though as briefly as poſſible.

We had before met this carriage at Elkuſch, and one of theſe people had aſked Schell where we were going: he had replied, to Czenſtochowa: we therefore had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of them, notwithſtanding the danger we ran.

They lay at the inn, ſaluted us, but with indifference, not ſeeming to notice us, and ſpoke little. We had not been long in bed before our hoſt came to awaken us, and told us, with ſurpriſe, theſe pretended merchants were ſent to arreſt us from Pruſſia; that they had offered, firſt, fifty, afterwards a hundred ducats, if he would permit them to take us in his houſe, and carry us into Sileſia: that he had firmly rejected the propoſal, though they had increaſed their promiſes; and that at laſt they had given him ſix ducats to engage his ſilence.

We clearly ſaw theſe were an officer and under-officers ſent by General Fouquet, to recover us. We conjectured by what means they had diſcovered our route, and imagined

gined the information they had received could only come from one lieutenant Mollinie, of the garriſon of Habelſchwert, who had come to viſit Schell, as a friend, during our ſtay at Braunau. He had remained with us two days, and had aſked many queſtions concerning the road we ſhould take, and he was the only one who knew it. He was probably the ſpy of Fouquet, and the cauſe of what happened afterwards, which, however, ended in the defeat of our enemies.

The moment I heard of this infamous treachery, I was for entering with my piſtols primed, into the enemy's chamber, but was prevented by Schell and Lazar: the latter entreated me, in the ſtrongeſt manner, to remain at his houſe till I ſhould receive a ſupply from my mother, that I might be enabled to continue my journey with more eaſe and leſs danger: but his entreaties were ineffectual. I was determined to ſee her, uncertain as I was of what effect my letter had produced. Lazar aſſured me we ſhould, moſt infallibly, be attacked

tacked on the road. "So much the better," retorted I; "that will give me an opportu-"nity of diſpatching them, ſending them to "the other world, and ſhooting them as I "would highwaymen." They departed at break of day, and took the road to Warſaw.

We would have been gone likewiſe; but Lazar, in ſome ſort, forcibly detained us, and gave us the ſix ducats he had received from the Pruſſians, with which we bought us each a ſhirt, another pair of pocket piſtols, and other urgent neceſſaries; then took an affectionate leave of our hoſt, who directed us on our way, and we teſtified our gratitude for the great ſervices done us.

Feb. 6. From Czenſtochowa to Dankow, two miles. Here we expected an attack. Lazar had told us our enemies had only one muſket; I alſo had a muſket, and an excellent ſabre, and each of us was provided with a pair of piſtols. They knew not we were ſo well armed, which perhaps was the cauſe of their panic, when they came to engage.

Feb.

Feb. 7. We took the road to Parſemechi: we had not been an hour on the road before we ſaw a carriage: as we drew near, we knew it to be that of our enemies, who pretended it was ſet in the ſnow. They were round it, and, when they ſaw us approach, began to call for help. This, we gueſſed, was an artifice to entrap us. Schell was not ſtrong; they would all have fallen upon me, and we ſhould eaſily have been carried off; for they wanted to take us alive.

We left the cauſeway about thirty paces, anſwering, "We had not time to give them "help;" at which they all ran to their carriage, drew out their piſtols, and returning full ſpeed after us, called, "Stop, raſcals!" We began to run; but I, ſuddenly turning round, preſented my piece, and ſhot the neareſt dead on the ſpot. Schell fired his piſtols; our oppoſers did the ſame, and Schell received a ball in the neck at this diſcharge. It was now my turn: I took out my piſtols; one of the aſſailants fled, and I, enraged, purſued him three hundred paces,

overtook him, and, as he was defending himself with his sword, perceiving he bled and made a feeble resistance, pressed upon him, and gave him a stroke that brought him down. I instantly returned to Schell, whom I found in the power of two others that were dragging him towards the carriage; but when they saw me at their heels, they fled over the fields. The coachman, perceiving which way the battle went, leaped on his box, and drove off full speed.

Schell, though delivered, was wounded with a ball in the neck, and by a cut in the right hand, which had made him drop his sword; though he affirmed he had run one of his adversaries through.

I took a silver watch from the man I had killed, and was going to make free with his purse, when Schell called, and showed me a coach and six coming down a hill. To stay would have exposed us to have been imprisoned as highwaymen: for the two fugitives, who had escaped us, would certainly have borne witness against us. Safety

only

only could be found in flight. I, however, ſeized the muſket and hat of him I had firſt killed, and we then gained the copſe, and after that the foreſt. The road was round about, and it was night before we reached Parſemechi.

Schell was beſmeared with blood; I had bound up his wound the beſt I could; but in Poliſh villages no ſurgeons are to be found; and he performed his journey with great difficulty. We met with two Saxon under-officers here, who were recruiting for the regiment of guards at Dreſden. My ſix-feet height and perſon pleaſed them, and they immediately made themſelves acquainted with me. I found them intelligent, and entruſted them with our ſecret, told them who we were, related the battle we had that day had with our purſuers; and I had not reaſon to repent of my confidence in them. Schell had his wounds dreſt, and we remained ſeven days with theſe good Saxons, who faithfully kept us company.

I learned, meantime, that of the four men by whom we had been aſſaulted, one only,

and the coachman, returned alive to Glatz. The name of the officer, who undertook this vile buſineſs, was Gerſdorf; he had a hundred and fifty ducats in his pocket when found dead. How great would our good fortune have been, had not that curſed coach and ſix, by its appearance, made us take to flight; ſince the booty would have been moſt juſt! Fortune, this time, did not favour the innocent; and though treacherouſly attacked, I was obliged to eſcape like a guilty wretch. We ſold the watch to a Jew for four ducats, the hat for three florins and a half, and the muſket for a ducat, Schell being unable to carry it farther. We left moſt of this money behind us at Parſemechi. A Jew ſurgeon ſold us ſome dear plaiſters, which we took with us, and departed.

Feb. 15. From Parſemechi, through Vielum, to Biala, four miles.

Feb. 16. Through Jeriſchow to Miſorcen, four miles and a half.

Feb. 17. To Oſterkow and Schwarzwald, three miles.

Feb.

Feb. 18. To Sdune, four miles.

Feb. 19. To Goblin, two miles.

Here we arrived wholly deſtitute of money. I ſold my coat to a Jew, who gave me four florins and a coarſe waggoner's frock in exchange, which I did not think I ſhould long need, as we now drew nearer to where my ſiſter lived, and where I hoped I ſhould be better equipped. Schell, however, grew weaker and weaker; his wounds healed ſlowly, and were expenſive; the cold alſo was injurious to him; and, as he was not by nature cleanly in his perſon, his body ſoon became the harbour of every ſpecies of vermin to be picked up in Poland. We often arrived wet and weary to our ſmoky, reeking ſtove-room; often we were obliged to lie on ſtraw, or the bare boards; and the various hardſhips we ſuffered are almoſt incredible. Wandering as we did in the midſt of winter, through Poland, where humanity, hoſpitality, and gentle pity are ſcarcely ſo much as known by name; where mercileſs Jews deny the poor traveller a bed, and where we, diſconſolately, ſtrayed

without bread, and almoſt naked; theſe were ſufferings, the full extent of which he only can conceive by whom they have been felt. My muſket now and then procured us an occaſional meal of tame geeſe, and cocks and hens, when theſe were to be had; otherwiſe we never took or touched any thing that was not our own. We met with Saxon and Pruſſian recruiters at various places; all of whom, on account of my youth and ſtature, were eager to inveigle me. I was highly diverted to hear them enumerate all the poſſibilities of future greatneſs, and how liable I was hereafter to become a corporal: nor was I leſs merry with their mead, ale, and brandy, given with an intent to make me drunk. Thus had we many artifices to guard againſt; but thus had we, likewiſe, very luckily for us, many a good meal gratis.

Feb. 21. We went from Goblin to Pugnitz, three miles and a half.

Feb. 22. Through Storchneſt to Schmiegel, four miles.

Here happened a ſingular adventure. The

The peaſants at this place were dancing to a vile ſcraper on the violin: I took the inſtrument myſelf, and played while they continued their hilarity. They were much pleaſed with my playing; but when I was tired, and deſired to have done, they obliged me, firſt by importunities, and afterwards by threats, to play on all night. I was ſo fatigued I thought I ſhould have fainted: at length they quarrelled among themſelves. Schell was ſleeping on a bench, and ſome of them fell on his wounded hand: he roſe furious; I ſeiſed my arms, began to lay about me, and while all was in confuſion we eſcaped without farther ill treatment.

What ample ſubject of meditation on the various turns of fate did this night afford! But two years before I danced at Berlin with the daughters and ſiſters of kings; and here was I, in a Poliſh hut, a ragged, almoſt naked muſician, playing for the ſports of ignorant ruſtics, whom I was at laſt obliged to fight.

I was myſelf the cauſe of the trifling miſ-

fortune that befel me on this occaſion. Had not my vanity led me to ſhow theſe poor peaſants I was a muſician, I might have ſlept in peace and ſafety. The ſame vain deſire of proving I knew more than other men, made me, through life, the continued victim of envy and ſlander. Had nature too beſtowed on me a weaker, or a deformed body, I had been leſs obſerved, leſs courted, leſs ſought, and my adventures and miſhaps had been fewer. Thus the merits of the man often become his miſeries; and thus the bear, having learned to dance, muſt live and die in chains.

This ardour, this vanity, or, if you pleaſe, this emulation, has however taught me to vanquiſh a thouſand difficulties, under which others of cooler paſſions, and more temperate deſires, would have ſunk. May my example remain a warning, and thus may my ſufferings become ſomewhat profitable to the world, cruel as they have been to myſelf! Cruel they were, and cruel they muſt continue; for the wounds

I have

I have received are not, will not, cannot, be healed.

Feb. 23. From Schmiegel to Rakonitz, and from thence to Karger Holland, four miles and a half. Here we ſold, to prevent dying of hunger, a ſhirt, and Schell's waiſtcoat, for eighteen groſch, or nine ſchoſtack. I had ſhot a pullet the day before, which neceſſity obliged us to eat raw. I alſo killed a crow, which I devoured alone, Schell refuſing to taſte. Youth and hard travelling created a voracious appetite, and our eighteen groſch were ſoon expended.

Feb. 24. We came through Benzen to Lettel, four miles. Here we halted a day, to learn the road to Hammer in Brandenburg, where my ſiſter lived. I happened, luckily, to meet with the wife of a Pruſſian ſoldier, who lived at Lettel, and belonged to Kolſchen, where ſhe was born a vaſſal of my ſiſter's huſband. I told her who I was, and ſhe became our guide.

Feb. 26. To Kurſchen and Falkenwalde.

Feb. 27. Through Neuendorff and Ooſt, and afterwards through a pathleſs wood, five miles and a half to Hammer; and here I knocked at my ſiſter's door at nine o'clock in the evening.

A maid ſervant came to the door, whom I knew; her name was Mary, and ſhe had been born and brought up in my father's houſe. She was terrified at ſeeing a ſturdy fellow in a beggar's dreſs; which perceiving, I aſked, "Molly, do not you know "me?" She anſwered, "No;" and I then diſcovered myſelf to her. I aſked whether my brother-in-law was at home. Mary replied, "Yes; but he was ſick in bed." "Tell my ſiſter, then," ſaid I, "that I am "here." She ſhowed me into a room, and my ſiſter preſently came.

She was alarmed at ſeeing me, not knowing that I had eſcaped from Glatz; and ran to inform her huſband, but did not return.

A quarter of an hour after, the good Mary came weeping, and told us her maſter commanded us to quit the premiſſes inſtantly,

or

or he ſhould be obliged to have us arreſted, and delivered up as priſoners.

My ſiſter's huſband forcibly detained her, and I ſaw her no more.

What my feelings muſt be, at ſuch a moment, let the reader imagine. I was too proud, too enraged, to aſk money; I furiouſly left the houſe, uttering a thouſand menaces againſt its inhabitants, while the kind-hearted Mary, ſtill weeping, ſlipped three ducats into my hand, which I accepted.

And now behold us, once more, in the wood, which was not above a hundred paces from the houſe, half dead with hunger and fatigue, not daring to enter any habitation while in the ſtates of Brandenburg, and dragging our weary ſteps, all night, through ſnow and rain, until our guide at length brought us back, at day-break, once again to the town of Lettel.

She herſelf wept in pity at our fate, and I could only give her two ducats for the danger ſhe had run; but I bade her hope more in future; and I afterwards ſent for her

her at Vienna, in 1751, where I took great care of her. She was about fifty years of age, and died my ſervant in Hungary, ſome weeks before my unfortunate journey to Dantzic, where I fell into my enemies' hands, and remained ten years a priſoner at Magdeburg.

We had ſcarcely reached the wood, before, in the anguiſh of my heart, I exclaimed to Schell, "Does not ſuch a ſiſter, my "friend, deſerve I ſhould fire the houſe "over her head?" The wiſdom of moderation, and calm forbearance, was in Schell a virtue of the higheſt order: he was my continual Mentor; my guide, whenever my choleric temperament was diſpoſed to violence. I therefore honour his aſhes; he deſerved a better fate.

"Friend," ſaid he, on this occaſion, "reflect, that your ſiſter may be innocent, "may be withheld by her huſband; be- "ſides, ſhould the king diſcover we had "entered her doors, and ſhe had not "delivered us again into his power, "ſhe might become as miſerable as we "were.

" were. Be more noble minded, and think " that, even ſhould your ſiſter be wrong, " the time may come when her children " may ſtand in need of your aſſiſtance, and " you may have the indeſcribable pleaſure " of returning good for evil."

I never ſhall forget this excellent advice; which in reality was a prophecy. My rich brother-in-law died, and, during the Ruſſian war, his lands and houſes were laid deſolate and in ruins; and, nineteen years afterwards, when releaſed from my impriſonment at Magdeburg, I had an opportunity of ſerving the children of my ſiſter. Such are the turns of fate; and thus do improbabilities become facts.

My ſiſter juſtified her conduct; Schell had conjectured the truth; for ten years after I was thus expelled her houſe, ſhe ſhowed, during my impriſonment, ſhe was really a ſiſter. She was ſhamefully betrayed by Weingarten, ſecretary to the Auſtrian embaſſador at Berlin; loſt a part of her property; and at length her life fell an innocent ſacrifice to her brother.

This

This event, which is interwoven with my tragical hiſtory, will be related in the ſecond volume: my heart bleeds, my very ſoul ſhudders, when I recollect this dreadful ſcene.

I have not the means fully to recompenſe her children; and Weingarten, the juſt object of vengeance, is long ſince in the grave; for did he exiſt, the earth ſhould not hide him from my ſword.

I ſhall now continue my journal. Deceived in the aid I expected, I was obliged to change my plan, and go to my mother, who lived in Pruſſia, nine miles beyond Konigſberg.

Feb. 28. We continued, tired, anxious, and diſtreſſed at Lettel.

March 1. We went three miles to Pleeſe, and on

March 2. A mile and a half farther to Meſeritz.

March 3. Through Werſebaum to Birnbaum, three miles.

March 4. Through Zircke, Wruneck, Obeſtchow, to Stubnitze, ſeven miles, in

one

one day, three of which we had the good fortune to ride.

March 5. Three miles to Rogoſen; where we arrived without ſo much as a heller to pay our lodging. The Jew inn-keeper drove us out of his houſe; we were obliged to wander all night, and at break of day found we had ſtrayed two miles out of the road.

We entered a peaſant's cottage, where an old woman was drawing bread hot out of the oven. We had no money to offer; and I felt, at this moment, the poſſibility even of committing murder for a morſel of bread, to ſatisfy the intolerable cravings of hunger. Shuddering with torment inexpreſſible at the thought, I haſtened out of the door, and we walked on two miles more to Wongrofze.

Here I ſold my muſket for a ducat, which had procured us many a meal: ſuch was the extremity of our diſtreſs. We then ſatiated our appetites, after having been forty hours without food or ſleep, and

and having travelled ten miles in ſleet and ſnow.

March 6. We reſted, and came, on the 7th, through Genin, to a village in the foreſt, four miles.

Here we fell in with a gang of gypſies [or rather banditti], amounting to four hundred men, who dragged me to their camp. They were moſtly French and Pruſſian deſerters; and, thinking me their equal, would force me to become one of their band. But venturing to tell my ſtory to their leader, he preſented me with a crown, gave us a ſmall proviſion of bread and meat, and ſuffered us to depart in peace, after having been four and twenty hours in their company.

March 9. We proceeded to Lapuſchin, three miles and a half; and the 10th to Thorn, four miles.

A new incident here happened, which ſhowed I was deſtined, by fortune, to a variety of adventures, and continually to ſtruggle with new difficulties.

There was a fair held at Thorn on the

day

day of our arrival. Suſpicions might well ariſe among the crowd, on ſeeing a ſtrong tall young man, wretchedly clothed, with a large ſabre by his ſide, and a pair of piſtols in his girdle, accompanied by another as poorly apparelled as himſelf, with his hand and neck bound up, and armed likewiſe with piſtols; ſo that altogether he more reſembled a ſpectre than a man.

We went to an inn, but were refuſed entertainment: I then aſked for the Jeſuits' college, where I inquired for the father-rector. They ſuppoſed at firſt I was a thief, come to ſeek an aſylum. After long waiting, and much entreaty, his Jeſuitical highneſs at length made his appearance, and received me as the Grand Mogul would his ſlave. My caſe certainly was pitiable: I related all the events of my life, and the purport of my journey; conjured him to ſave Schell, who was unable to proceed farther, and whoſe wounds grew daily worſe; and prayed him to entertain him at the convent till I ſhould have been to my mother, have obtained money,

and

and returned to Thorn, when I would certainly repay him whatever expence he might have been at, with thanks and gratitude.

Never ſhall I forget the haughty inſolence of this prieſt. Scarcely would he liſten to my humble requeſt; thou-ed and interrupted me continually, to tell me "Be "brief; I have more preſſing affairs than "thine." In fine, I was turned away without obtaining the leaſt aſſiſtance; and here I was firſt taught Jeſuitical pride; God help the poor and honeſt man who ſhall need the aſſiſtance of Jeſuits! They, like all other monks, are ſeared to every ſentiment of human pity, and commiſerate the diſtreſſed by taunts and irony.

Four times in my life I have ſought aſſiſtance and advice from convents, and am convinced it is the duty of every honeſt man to aid in erafing them from the face of the earth.

They ſuccour raſcals and murderers, that their power may be idoliſed by the ignorant, and oſtentatiouſly exert itſelf to impede the courſe of law and juſtice; but

in

in vain do the poor and needy virtuous apply to them for help.

The reader will pardon my native hatred of hypocriſy and falſehood, eſpecially when he hears I have to thank the Jeſuits for the loſs of all my great Hungarian eſtates. Father Kampmuller, the boſom friend of the count Graſhalkowitz, was confeſſor to the court of Vienna, and there was no poſſible kind of perſecution I did not ſuffer from prieſtcraft. Far from being uſeful members of ſociety, they, taking advantage of the prejudices of ſuperſtition, exiſt for themſelves alone, and ſacrifice every duty to the ſupport of their own hierarchy, and found a power on error and ignorance, which is deſtructive of all moral virtue.

Let us proceed.—Mournful, and angry, I left the college, and went to my lodging-houſe, where I found a Pruſſian recruiting-officer waiting for me, who uſed all his arts to engage me to enliſt; offering me five hundred dollars, and to make me a corporal, if I could write. I pretended I was a Li-

vonian

vonian who had deſerted from the Auſtrians, to return home and claim an inheritance left me by my father. After much perſuaſion, he at length told me in confidence, "It "was very well known in the town that I "was a robber; that I ſhould ſoon be taken "before a magiſtrate; but that, if I would "enliſt, he would enſure my ſafety."

This language was new to me; my paſſion roſe inſtantaneouſly; I remembered my name was Trenck. I ſtruck him, and drew my ſword; but, inſtead of defending himſelf, he ſprang out of the chamber, charging the hoſt not to let me quit the houſe. I knew the town of Thorn had agreed with the king of Pruſſia, ſecretly, to deliver up deſerters, and began to fear the conſequences. Looking through the window, I preſently ſaw two under Pruſſian officers enter the houſe. Schell and I inſtantly flew to our arms, and met the Pruſſians at the chamber door. "Make "way!" cried I, preſenting my piſtols. The Pruſſian ſoldiers drew their ſwords, but retired with fear. Going out of the houſe,

houſe, I ſaw a Pruſſian lieutenant in the ſtreet, with the town-guard. Theſe I over-awed, likewiſe, by the ſame means, and no one durſt oppoſe me, though every one cried "Stop thief!" I came ſafely, however, to the Jeſuits' convent; but poor Schell was taken and dragged to priſon like a malefactor.

Half mad at not being able to reſcue him, I imagined he muſt ſoon be delivered up to the Pruſſians. My reception was much better at the convent than it had been before, for they no longer doubted but I was really a thief, who ſought an aſylum. I addreſſed myſelf to one of the fathers, who appeared to be a good kind of a man, related briefly what had happened, and entreated he would endeavour to diſcover why they ſought to moleſt us.

He went out, and returning in an hour after, told me: "Nobody knows you: "a conſiderable theft was, yeſterday, "committed in the fair; all ſuſpicious "perſons are ſeiſed; you entered the "town accoutred like banditti. The

"man

" man where you put up is employed as " a Pruſſian enliſter, and has announced " you as ſuſpicious people. The Pruſſian " lieutenant, thereupon, laid complaint " againſt you, and it was thought neceſſary " to ſecure your perſons."

My joy, at hearing this, was great. Our Moravian paſſport, and the journal of our route, which I had in my pocket, were full proofs of our innocence. I requeſted they would ſend and inquire at the town where we lay the night before. I ſoon convinced the Jeſuit I ſpoke truth; he went, and preſently returned with one of the ſyndics, to whom I gave a more full account of myſelf. The ſyndic examined Schell, and found his ſtory and mine agreed; beſides which, our papers, that they had ſeiſed, declared who we were. I paſſed the night in the convent, without cloſing my eyes, revolving in my mind all the rigours of my fate. I was ſtill more diſturbed for Schell, who knew not where I was, but remained firmly perſuaded we

ſhould

ſhould be conducted to Berlin; and, if ſo, determined to put a period to his life.

My doubts were all ended at ten in the morning, when my good Jeſuit arrived, and was followed by my friend Schell. The judges, he ſaid, had found us innocent, and declared us free to go where we pleaſed; adding, however, that he adviſed us to be upon our guard, we being watched by the Pruſſian enliſters; that the lieutenant had hoped, by having us committed as thieves, to oblige me to enter, and this would account for all that had happened.

I gave Schell a moſt affectionate welcome, who had been very ill uſed when led to priſon, becauſe he endeavoured to defend himſelf with his left hand, and follow me. The people had thrown mud at him, and called him a raſcal that would ſoon be hanged. Schell was little able to travel further. The father rector ſent us a ducat, but did not ſee us; and the chief magiſtrate gave each of us a crown by way of indemnification for falſe impriſonment. Thus ſent away, we returned to our lodging,

took our bundles, and immediately prepared to leave Thorn.

As we went, I reflected that, on the road to Elbing, we muſt paſs through ſeveral Pruſſian villages, and inquired for a ſhop where we might purchaſe a map. We were directed to an old woman who ſat at a door acroſs the way, and were told that ſhe had a good aſſortment, for that her ſon was a ſcholar. I addreſſed myſelf to her, and my queſtion pleaſed her, I having added we were unfortunate travellers, who wiſhed to find, by the map, the road to Ruſſia.

She ſhowed us into a chamber, laid an atlas on the table, and placed herſelf oppoſite me, while I examined the map, and endeavoured to hide a bit of a ragged ruffle that had made its appearance. After ſtedfaſtly looking at me, ſhe at length exclaimed, with a ſad and mournful tone, "Good God! who knows what is now be-"come of my poor ſon! I can ſee, ſir, "you, too, are of a good family. My ſon "would go and ſeek his fortune; and for

"theſe

" theſe eight years have I had no tidings " of him. He muſt now be in the Au- " ſtrian cavalry." I aſked in what regi- ment.—" The regiment of Hohenhem; " you are his very picture."—" Is he not " my height?"—" Yes nearly."—" Has he " not light hair?"—" Yes, like yours, " ſir."—" What is his name?"—" His " name is William."—" No, my dear mo- " ther," cried I, " William is not dead; he " was my beſt friend when I was with my " regiment."— Here the poor woman could not contain herſelf with joy. She threw herſelf round my neck, called me her good angel who brought her happy tidings, aſk- ed me a thouſand queſtions, which I eaſily contrived to make her anſwer herſelf; and thus, forced by imperious neceſſity, bereft of all other means, did I act the de- ceiver.

The ſtory I made was nearly as follows: I told her I was a ſoldier in the regiment of Hohenhem, that I had a furlow to go and ſee my father, and that I ſhould return in a month, would then take her letters, and

undertake that, if ſhe wiſhed it, her ſon ſhould purchaſe his diſcharge, and once more come and live with his mother. I added, that I ſhould be for ever, and infinitely obliged to her, if ſhe would ſuffer my comrade mean time to live at her houſe, he being wounded by the Pruſſian recruiters, and unable to purſue his journey; that I would ſend him money to come to me, or would myſelf come back and fetch him, thankfully paying every expence. She joyfully conſented; told me her ſecond huſband, father-in-law to her dear William, had driven him from home, that he might give what ſubſtance they had to the younger ſon; and that the eldeſt had gone to Magdeburg. She determined Schell ſhould live at the houſe of a friend, that her huſband might know nothing of the matter; and, not ſatisfied with this kindneſs, ſhe made me eat with her, gave me a new ſhirt, ſtockings, ſufficient proviſion for three days, and ſix Lunenburg florins. I left Thorn, and my faithful Schell, the ſame night, with the

conſolation he was well taken care of; and having parted from him with regret, went, on this the 13th, two miles farther to Burglow.

I cannot deſcribe what my ſenſations were, or the deſpondence of my mind, when I thus ſaw myſelf wandering alone, and leaving, forſaking as it were, the deareſt of friends. Theſe may certainly be numbered among the bittereſt moments of my life. Often was I ready to return, and drag him along with me, though at laſt reaſon conquered ſenſibility. I drew near the end of my journey, and was impelled forward by hope.

March 14. I went to Schwetz, and,

March 15. To Neuburg and Mowe. In theſe two days I travelled thirteen miles. I lay at Mowe, in ſome ſtraw, among a number of carters, and, when I awoke, perceived they had taken my piſtols, and what little money I had left, even to my laſt penny. The gentlemen however were all gone.

What could I do? The innkeeper perhaps was privy to the theft. My reckoning

amounted to eighteen Poliſh groſch. The ſurly landlord pretended to believe I had no money when I entered his houſe, and I was obliged to give him the only ſpare ſhirt I had, with a ſilk handkerchief, which the good woman of Thorn had made me a preſent of, and to depart without a ſingle heller.

March 16. I ſet off for Marienburg: but it was impoſſible I ſhould reach this place, and not fall into the hands of the Pruſſians, if I did not croſs the Viſtula; and, unfortunately, I had no money to pay the ferry, which would coſt two Poliſh ſchellings.

Full of anxiety, not knowing how to act, I ſaw two fiſhermen in a boat, went to them, drew my ſabre, and obliged them to land me on the other ſide; when there, I took the oars from theſe timid people, jumped out of the boat, puſhed it off the ſhore, and left it to drive with the ſtream.

To what dangers does not poverty expoſe man! Theſe two Poliſh ſchellings were not worth more than half a kreutzer, or ſome

halfpenny; yet was I driven by neceſſity to commit violence on two poor men, who, had they been as deſperate in their defence as I was obliged to be in my attack, blood muſt have been ſpilt, and lives loſt; hence it is evident that the degrees of guilt ought to be ſtrictly and minutely inquired into, and the degree of puniſhment proportioned: had I hewn them down with my ſabre, I ſhould ſurely have been a murderer, but I ſhould likewiſe ſurely have been one of the moſt innocent of murderers. Thus we ſee the value of money is not to be eſtimated by any ſpecific ſum, ſmall or great, but according to its neceſſity and uſe. How little did I imagine, when at Berlin, and money was treated by me with luxurious neglect, I may ſay, with contempt, I ſhould be driven to the hard neceſſity, for a ſum ſo apparently deſpicable, of committing a violence which might have had conſequences ſo dreadful, and have led to the commiſſion of an act ſo atrocious!

I found Saxon and Pruſſian recruiters at Marienburg, with whom, having no money,

I ate, drank, liſtened to their propoſals, gave them hopes for the morrow, and departed by day-break.

March 17. To Elbing, four miles.

Here I met with my former worthy tutor, Brodowſky, who was become a captain, and auditor in the Poliſh regiment of Golz. He met me juſt as I entered the town. I followed, triumphantly, to his quarters; and here at length ended the painful, long, and adventurous journey I had been obliged to perform.

This good and kind gentleman, after providing me with immediate neceſſaries, wrote ſo affectingly to my mother, that ſhe came to Elbing in a week, and gave me every aid of which I ſtood in need.

The pleaſure I had in meeting once more this tender mother, whoſe qualities of heart and mind were equally excellent, was inexpreſſible. She found a certain mode of conveying a letter to my dear miſtreſs at Berlin, who, a ſhort time after, ſent me a bill of exchange for four hundred ducats upon Dantzic. To this my mother added a thou-

ſand

ſand rix-dollars, and a diamond croſs worth nearly half as much, remained a fortnight with me, and perſiſted, in ſpite of all remonſtrance, in adviſing me to go to Vienna. My determination had been fixed for Peterſburg; all my fears and apprehenſions being awakened at the thought of Vienna, and which, indeed, afterwards became the ſource of all my cruel ſufferings and ſorrows. She would not yield in opinion, and promiſed her future aſſiſtance only in caſe of my obedience: it was my duty not to continue obſtinate. Here ſhe left me, and I have never ſeen her ſince. She died in 1751, and I have ever held her memory in veneration. It was a happineſs for this affectionate mother that ſhe did not live to be a witneſs of my afflictions, in the year 1754.

An adventure, reſembling that of Joſeph in Egypt, happened to me in Elbing. The wife of the worthy Brodowſky, a woman of infinite perſonal attraction, grew partial to me; but I durſt not act ungratefully by my benefactor. Never to ſee me more was too painful to her, and ſhe even propoſed to

follow me, ſecretly, to Vienna. I felt the danger of my ſituation, and doubted whether Potiphar's wife offered temptations ſo ſtrong as madam Brodowſky. I own I had an affection for this lady; but my paſſions were overawed. She preferred me to her huſband, who was in years, and very ordinary in perſon. Had I yielded to the ſlighteſt degree of guilt, that of preſent enjoyment, a few days of pleaſure muſt have been followed by years of bitter repentance.

Having once more aſſumed my proper name and character, and made preſents of acknowledgment to the worthy tutor of my youth, I became eager to return to Thorn.

How great was my joy at again meeting my honeſt Schell! The kind old woman had treated him like a mother. She was ſurpriſed and half terrified at ſeeing me enter in an officer's uniform, and accompanied by two ſervants. I gratefully and rapturouſly kiſſed her hand; repaid, with thankfulneſs, every expence; for Schell had been nurtured with truly maternal kindneſs; told

her who I was; acknowledged the deceit I had put upon her concerning her ſon, but faithfully promiſed to give a true, and not fictitious, account of him immediately on my arrival at Vienna *. Schell was ready in three days, and we left Thorn, came to Warſaw, and paſſed thence through Crakow, to Vienna.

I inquired for Captain Capi, at Bilitz, who had before given me ſo kind a reception, and refuſed me ſatisfaction; but he was gone, and I did not meet with him till ſome years after, when the cunning Italian made me the moſt humble apologies for his conduct. So goes the world.

* When I came to Vienna, I took all poſſible pains to inquire for this William, and found, by the commiſſary liſt, that he had deſerted in 1744, had been retaken, and actually hanged. For a bribe of a few ducats I procured a certificate of his having died a natural death, which I ſent to the good woman with a letter of thanks and conſolation. Perhaps the poor William, who was heir to twenty thouſand florins, unable to procure a furlow, had deſerted, and was executed as a malefactor. To how many reflections [on arbitrary power, ſtanding armies, and military law] do incidents like theſe give birth!

My journey from Dantzic to Vienna would not furniſh me with an intereſting page, though my travels on foot thither would have afforded thrice as much as I have written, had I not been fearful of trifling with the reader's patience.

In poverty one misfortune follows another. The foot-paſſenger ſees the world, becomes acquainted with it, converſes with men of every claſs. The lord luxurioufly lolls and ſlumbers in his carriage, while his ſervants pay inn-keepers and poſtillions, and paſſes rapidly over a kingdom in which he ſees ſome dozen houſes, called inns; and this he calls travelling. I met with more adventures in this my journey of 169 miles, than afterwards in almoſt as many thouſand, when travelling at eaſe, in a carriage.

Here then ends my journal, in which, from the hardſhips therein related, and numerous others omitted, I ſeem a kind of ſecond Robinſon Cruſoe, and to have been prepared, by a gradual increaſe and repetition of ſufferings, to endure the load of affliction

affliction which I was afterwards deſtined to bear.

ARRIVED AT VIENNA in the month of April, 1747.

And now another act of the tragedy is going to begin.

After having defrayed the expences of travelling for me and my friend Schell, for whoſe remarkable hiſtory I will endeavour to find a few pages in my third volume, I divided the three hundred ducats which remained with him; and, having ſtaid a month at Vienna, he went to join the regiment of Pallavicini, in which he had obtained a lieutenant-colonel's commiſſion, and which was then in Italy.

Here I found my couſin, baron Francis Trenck, the famous partiſan and colonel of pandours, impriſoned at the arſenal, and involved in a moſt perplexing proſecution.

This Trenck was my father's brother's ſon. His father had been a colonel and governor of Leitſchau, and had poſſeſſed conſiderable lordſhips in Sclavonia, thoſe of Pleternitz, Preſtowacz, and Pakratz. After

the

the ſiege of Vienna, in 1683, he had left the Pruſſian ſervice for that of Auſtria, in which he remained ſixty years.

That I may not here interrupt my ſtory, I ſhall give ſome account of the life of my couſin baron Francis Trenck, ſo renowned in the war of 1741, in the third volume, and who fell, at laſt, the ſhameful ſacrifice of envy and avarice, and received the reward of all his great and faithful ſervices in the priſon of the Spielberg.

The vindication of the family of the Trencks requires I ſhould ſpeak of him; nor will I, in this, ſuffer reſtraint from the fear of any man, however powerful. Thoſe indeed who ſacrificed a man moſt ardent in his country's ſervice, to their own private and ſelfiſh views, are now in their graves.

I ſhall inſert no more of his hiſtory here than what is interwoven with my own, and relate the reſt in its proper place.

A reviſion of his ſuit was at this time inſtituted. Scarcely was I at Vienna before his confidential agent, M. Leber, preſented me to prince Charles and the emperor: both

both knew the ſervices of Trenck, and the malice of his enemies; therefore permiſſion for me to viſit him in his priſon, and procure him ſuch aſſiſtance as he might need, were readily granted. On my ſecond audience the emperor ſpoke ſo much in my perſecuted couſin's favour, that I became highly intereſted: he commanded me to have recourſe to him on all occaſions; and, moreover, owned the preſident of the council of war was a man of a very wicked character, and a declared enemy of Trenck. This preſident was the count of Lowenwalde, who, with his aſſociates, had been purpoſely ſelected as men proper to oppreſs the beſt of ſubjects. The ſuit ſoon took another face; the good empreſs queen, who had been deceived, was ſoon better informed; and Trenck's innocence appeared, on the reviſion of the proceſs, moſt evidently. The trial, which had coſt them twenty-ſeven thouſand florins, and the ſentence which followed, were proved to have been partial and unjuſt; and that ſixteen of Trenck's officers, who moſt of them had

been

been broken for different offences, had perjured themſelves to inſure his deſtruction.

It is a moſt remarkable circumſtance, that public notice was given, in the Vienna Gazette, to the following purport.

*All thoſe who have any complaints to make againſt Trenck, let them appear, and they ſhall receive a ducat per day ſo long as the proſecution continues.*

It will readily be imagined how faſt his accuſers would increaſe, and what kind of people they were. The pay of theſe witneſſes alone amounted to fifteen thouſand florins. I now began to labour in concurrence with doctor Gerhauer, and the cauſe ſoon took another turn; but ſuch was the ſtate of things, it would have been neceſſary to have broken all the members of the council of war, as well as counſellor Weber, a man of great power. Thus, unfortunately, politics began to interfere with the courſe of juſtice.

The empreſs-queen gave Trenck to underſtand ſhe required he ſhould aſk her pardon; and on that condition all proceedings

ings ſhould be ſtopped, and he immediately ſet at liberty. Prince Charles, who knew the court of Vienna, adviſed me alſo to perſuade my couſin to comply; but nothing could ſhake his reſolution. Feeling his right and innocence, he demanded ſtrict juſtice; and this made ruin more ſwift.

I ſoon learned Trenck muſt fall a ſacrifice;—he was rich—his enemies already had divided among them more than eighty thouſand florins of his property, which was all ſequeſtered, and in their hands. They had treated him too cruelly, and knew him too well, not to dread his vengeance the moment he ſhould recover his freedom.

I was moved to the ſoul at his ſufferings; and as he vented public threats, at the proſpect of approaching victory over his enemies, they gained over the court-confeſſor; and, dreading him as they did, put every wily art in practice to inſure his deſtruction. I therefore, in the fulneſs of my heart, made him the brotherly propoſition of eſcaping, and, having obtained his liberty, to prove his innocence to the empreſs-

queen.

queen. I told him my plan, which might eaſily have been put in execution, and which he ſeemed perfectly decided to follow.

Some days after, I was ordered to wait on field-marſhal count Konigſeck, governor of Vienna. This reſpectable old gentleman, whoſe memory I ſhall ever revere, behaved to me like a father and the friend of humanity, adviſed me to abandon my couſin, who, he gave me clearly to underſtand, had betrayed me, by having revealed my propoſed plan of eſcape, willing to ſacrifice me to his ambition, in order to juſtify the purity of his intentions to the court, and ſhow that, inſtead of wiſhing to eſcape, he only deſired juſtice.

Confounded at the cowardly action of one for whom I would willingly have ſacrificed my life, and whom I only ſought to deliver, I reſolved to leave him to his fate, and thought myſelf exceedingly happy that the worthy field-marſhal would, after a fatherly admonition, ſmother all farther inquiry into this affair.

I related this black trait of ingratitude to

prince

prince Charles of Lorraine, who prevailed on me again to ſee my couſin, without letting him know I knew what had paſſed, and ſtill to render him every ſervice in my power.

Before I proceed, I will here give the reader a portrait of this Trenck.

He was a man of ſuperior talents and unbounded ambition; devoted, even fanatically, to his ſovereign; his boldneſs approached temerity; he was artful of mind, wicked of heart, vindictive and unfeeling. His cupidity equalled the utmoſt exceſs of avarice, even in his thirty-third year, in which he died. He was too proud to receive favours or obligations from any man, and was capable of ridding himſelf of his beſt friend, if he thought he had any claims on his gratitude, or could get poſſeſſion of his fortune.

He knew I had rendered him very important ſervices, ſuppoſed his cauſe already won, having bribed the judges, who were to reviſe the ſentence, with thirty thouſand florins; which money I received from his friend baron Lopreſti, and conveyed to

theſe

these honeſt counſellors. I knew all his ſecrets; and nothing more was neceſſary to prompt his ſuſpicious and bad heart to ſeek my deſtruction.

Scarcely had a fortnight elapſed, after his having firſt betrayed me, before the following remarkable event happened.

I left him one evening to return home, taking under my coat a bag with papers and documents relating to the proſecution, which I had been examining for him, and tranſcribing. There were at this time about five and twenty officers in Vienna, who had laid complaints againſt him, and who conſidered me as their greateſt enemy, becauſe I had laboured earneſtly in his defence. I was therefore obliged, on all occaſions, to be upon my guard. A report had been propagated through Vienna, that I was ſecretly ſent, by the king of Pruſſia, to free my couſin from impriſonment; he, however, conſtantly denied, to the hour of his death, his ever having written to me at Berlin: hence alſo it will follow, the letter I received had been forged by Jaſchinſky.

Leaving

Leaving the arſenal, I croſſed the court, and perceived I was cloſely followed by two men in grey roquelaures; who, preſſing upon my heels, held loud and inſolent converſation concerning the run-away Pruſſian Trenck. I found they ſought a quarrel, which was a thing of no great difficulty at that moment; for a man is never more diſpoſed to duelling than when he has nothing to loſe, and is diſcontented with his condition. I ſuppoſed they were two of the accuſing officers broken by Trenck, and endeavoured to avoid them, and gain the Jew's-place.

Scarcely had I turned down the ſtreet that leads thither, before they quickened their pace. I turned round, and in a moment received a thruſt with a ſword, in the left ſide, where I had put my bag of papers; which accident alone ſaved my life: the ſword piereed through the papers, and ſlightly grazed the ſkin. I inſtantly drew, and the heroes ran. I purſued: one of them tripped, and fell. I ſeiſed him: the guard came up: he declared he was an officer of

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the regiment of Kollowrat, ſhowed his uniform, was releaſed, and I was taken to priſon. The town-major came the next day, and told me I had intentionally ſought a quarrel with two officers, lieutenants F—g and K—n. Theſe kind gentlemen did not reveal their humane intention of ſending me to the other world.

I was alone, could produce no witneſs: they were two. I muſt neceſſarily be in the wrong, and I remained ſix days in priſon. No ſooner was I releaſed, than theſe my good friends ſent to demand ſatisfaction for the ſaid pretended inſult. The propoſal was accepted, and I promiſed to be at the Scotch gate, the place appointed by them, within an hour. Having heard their names, I preſently knew them to be two famous ſwaggerers, who were daily exerciſing themſelves in fencing at the arſenal, and where they often viſited Trenck. I went to my couſin to aſk his aſſiſtance, related what had happened, and, as the conſequences of this duel might be very ſerious, deſired him to

give

give me a hundred ducats, that I might be able to fly if either of them ſhould fall.

Hitherto I had expended my own money on his account, and had aſked no reimburſement; but what was my aſtoniſhment when this wicked man ſaid to me, with a ſneer, "Since, good couſin, you have got into a "quarrel without conſulting me, you will "alſo get out of it without my aid!" As I left him, he called me back to tell me, "I "will take care and pay your undertaker;" for he certainly believed I ſhould never return alive.

I ran now, half deſpairing, to baron Lopreſti, who gave me fifty ducats and a pair of piſtols; provided with which I cheerfully repaired to the field of battle.

Here I found half a dozen officers of the garriſon. As I had few acquaintances in Vienna, I had no ſecond, except an old Spaniſh invalid captain, named Pereyra, who met me going in all haſte, and, having learned whither, would not leave me.

Lieutenant K—n was the firſt with whom I fought, and who received ſatisfaction by a

deep

deep wound in the right arm. Hereupon I deſired the ſpectators to prevent farther miſchief; for my own part I had nothing more to demand. Lieutenant F—g next entered the liſts, with threats, which were ſoon quieted by a lunge in the belly. Hereupon lieutenant M—f, ſecond to the firſt wounded man, told me very angrily, "Had "I been your man, you would have found "a very different reception." My old Spaniard of eighty, proudly and immediately advanced, with his long whiſkers and tottering frame, and cried—"Hold!—Trenck "has proved himſelf a brave fellow; and if "any man thinks proper to aſſault him "further, he muſt firſt take a breathing "with me." Every body laughed at this bravado, from a man who ſcarcely could ſtand, or hold a ſword. I replied, "Friend, "I am ſafe, unhurt, and want not aid: "ſhould I be diſabled, you then, if you "think proper, may take my place; but, "as long as I can hold a ſword, I ſhall take "pleaſure in ſatisfying all theſe gentlemen, "one after another." I would have reſted

myſelf

myſelf a moment; but the haughty M—f, enraged at the defeat of his friend, would not give me time, but furiouſly attacked me; and, having wounded him twice, once in the hand, and again in the groin, he wanted to cloſe, and ſink me to the grave with himſelf; but I diſarmed and threw him.

None of the others had any deſire to renew the conteſt. My three enemies were ſent bleeding to town; and, as M—f appeared to be mortally wounded, and the Jeſuits and Capuchins of Vienna refuſed me an aſylum, I fled to the convent at Keltenberg.

I wrote, from the convent, to colonel baron Lopreſti, who came to me. I told him all that had paſſed, and by his good offices had liberty, in a week, to appear once more at Vienna.

The blood of lieutenant F—g was in a corrupt ſtate, and his wound, though not in itſelf dangerous, made his life doubtful. He ſent to entreat I would viſit him; and, when I went, having firſt requeſted I would pardon him, gave me to underſtand I ought to beware of my couſin. I afterwards learned

the traitorous Trenck had promiſed lieutenant F—g a company, and a thouſand ducats, if he could find means to quarrel with me, and rid the world of me. He was deeply in debt, and ſought the aſſiſtance of lieutenant K—n; and, had not the papers luckily preſerved me, I had undoubtedly been diſpatched by his firſt lunge. To clear themſelves of the infamy of ſuch an act, theſe two worthy gentlemen had pretended I had aſſaulted them in the ſtreets.

I could no more reſolve to ſee my ungrateful and dangerous kinſman, who wiſhed to have me murdered, becauſe I knew all his ſecrets, and thought he ſhould be able to gain his cauſe without obligation to me, or my aſſiſtance. Notwithſtanding all his great qualities, his marking characteriſtic certainly was that of ſacrificing every thing to his private views, and eſpecially to his covetouſneſs, which was ſo great that, even at his time of life, though his fortune amounted to a million and a half, he did not ſpend, per day, more than thirty kreutzers.

No ſooner was it known that I had for-

ſaken

ſaken Trenck, than general count Lowenwalde, his moſt ardent enemy, and preſident of the firſt council of war, by which he had been condemned, deſired to ſpeak to me, promiſed every ſort of good fortune and protection if I would diſcover what means had ſecretly been employed in the reviſion of the proceſs; and went ſo far as to offer me four thouſand florins if I would aid a proſecution againſt my couſin. Here I learned the influence of villains in power, and the injuſtice of judges at Vienna. The propoſal I rejected with diſdain, and rather determined to ſeek my fortune in the East-Indies, than continue in a country where, under the beſt of queens, the moſt loyal of ſubjects, and firſt of ſoldiers, I might be rendered miſerable by intereſted, angry, and corrupt courtiers. Certain it is, as I now can prove, that Trenck, though the bittereſt of my enemies, and whoſe conduct towards me merited my whole reſentment, was the beſt ſoldier in the Auſtrian army, had been liberal of his blood and fortune in the imperial ſervice, and would ſtill ſo have

tinued, had not his wealth, and his contempt for Weber and Lowenwalde, put him in the power of thoſe wretches, who were the avowed enemies of courage and patriotiſm, and who only can maintain their authority, and ſate their thirſt of gain, by the baſe and wicked arts of courts. Had my couſin ſhared the plunder of the war among theſe men, he had not fallen the martyr of their intrigues, and died in the Spielberg. His accuſers were, generally, unprincipled men, of ruined fortunes; and ſo inſufficient were their accuſations, that a uſeful member of ſociety ought not, for any or all of them, to have ſuffered an hour's impriſonment. Being fully informed, both of all the circumſtances of the proſecution, and the inmoſt ſecrets of his heart, juſtice requires I ſhould thus publicly declare this truth, and vindicate his memory. While living he was my bittereſt enemy, and even though dead was the cauſe of all my future ſufferings; therefore the account I ſhall give of him, in the third volume, will certainly be the leſs liable to ſuſpicion, where I ſhall



ſhow

ſhow that he, as well as myſelf, deſerved better of Auſtria.

I was reſolved for ever to forſake Vienna. The friends of Trenck all became diſtruſtful of him, becauſe of his ingratitude to me. Prince Charles ſtill endeavoured to perſuade me to a reconciliation, and gave me a letter of recommendation to general Brown, who then commanded the imperial army in Italy: but more deſirous of going to India, I left Vienna in Auguſt, 1748, deſirous of owing no obligation to that city or its inhabitants, and went for Holland. Meantime the enemies of Trenck found no one to oppoſe their iniquitous proceedings, and obtained a ſentence of impriſonment, in the Spielberg, where he too late repented having betrayed his faithful adviſer and prudent friend. I pitied him; and his judges certainly deſerved the puniſhment they inflicted; yet to his laſt moments he ſhowed his hatred towards me was rooted, and, even in the grave, ſtrove by his will to involve me in misfortune, will hereafter be ſeen.

I fled from Vienna; would to God it had

been for ever! but fate, by ſtrange ways and unknown means, brought me back, where Providence thought proper I ſhould become a veſſel of wrath and perſecution: I was to enact my part in Europe, and not in Aſia. At Nuremberg I met with a body of Ruſſians, commanded by general Lieuwen, my mother's relation, who were marching to the Netherlands, and were the peace-makers of Europe. Major Buſchkow, whom I had known when Ruſſian reſident at Vienna, prevailed on me to viſit him, and preſented me to the general. I pleaſed him, and may ſay, with truth, he behaved to me like a friend and a father. He adviſed me to enter into the Ruſſian ſervice, and gave me a company of dragoons, in the regiment of Tobolſki, on conditidn I ſhould not leave him, but employ myſelf in his cabinet; and his confidence and eſteem for me were unbounded.

Peace followed; the army returned to Moravia, without firing a muſket, and the head-quarters were fixed at Proſnitz.

In this town a public entertainment was given,

given, by general Lieuwen, on the coronation day of the empreſs Elizabeth; and here an adventure happened to me, which I ſhall ever remember, as a warning to myſelf, and inſert as a memento to others.

The army phyſician, on this day, kept a faro bank, for the entertainment of the gueſts. My ſtock of money conſiſted of two and twenty ducats. Thirſt of gain, or perhaps example, induced me to venture two of theſe, which I immediately loſt, and very ſoon, by venturing again to regain them, the whole two and twenty. Chagrined at my folly, I returned home: I had nothing but a pair of piſtols left, for which, becauſe of their workmanſhip, general Woyekow had offered me twenty ducats. Theſe I took, intending, by their aid, to attempt to retrieve my loſs. Firing of guns and piſtols were heard throughout the town, becauſe of the feſtival; and I, in imitation of the reſt, went to the window, and fired mine. After a few diſcharges, one of my piſtols burſt, and endangered my own hand, and wounded my ſervant. I

felt a momentary deſpondency, ſtronger than I ever remembered to have experienced before; inſomuch that I was half induced, with the remaining piſtol, to ſhoot myſelf through the head. I however recovered my ſpirits, aſked my ſervant what money he had, and received from him three ducats. With theſe I repaired, like a deſperate gameſter, once more to the faro table, at the general's; again began to play, and, ſo extraordinary was my run of luck, I won at every venture. Having recovered my principal, I played on upon my winnings, till at laſt I had abſolutely broken the doctor's bank. A new bank was ſet up, and I won the greateſt part of this likewiſe; ſo that I brought home about ſix hundred ducats.

Rejoiced at my good fortune, but recollecting my danger, I had the prudence to make a ſolemn reſolution never more to play at any game of chance; to which I have ever ſtrictly adhered.

It were to be wiſhed young men would reflect upon the effects of gaming, remembering

bering that the love of play has made the moſt promiſing and virtuous miſerable; the honeſt, knaves; and the ſincere, deceivers and liars. Officers, having firſt loſt all their own money, being intruſted with the ſoldiers' pay, have next loſt that alſo; and thus been caſhiered, and eternally diſgraced. I might at Proſnitz have been equally raſh and culpable. The firſt venture, whether the gameſter wins or loſes, enſures a ſecond; and, with that, too often deſtruction. My good fortune was almoſt miraculous, and my ſubſequent reſolution very uncommon; and I intreat and conjure my children, when I ſhall no longer be living to adviſe and watch for their welfare, moſt determinedly to avoid play. I ſeemed preſerved by Providence from this evil, but to endure much greater.

General Lieuwen, my kind patron, ſent me from Krakow, to conduct a hundred and forty ſick men down the Viſtula to Dantzic, where there were Ruſſian veſſels to receive and tranſport them to Riga.

I requeſted permiſſion of the general to

proceed forward, and visit my mother and sister, whom I was very desirous to see: at Elbing, therefore, I resigned the command to lieutenant Platen, and, attended by a servant, rode to the bishopric of Ermeland, where I had appointed an interview with them in a frontier village.

Here an incident happened that had nearly cost me my life. The Prussians, some days before, had carried off a peasant's son, from this village, as a recruit. The people were all in commotion. I wore leathern breeches, and the blue uniform of the Russian cavalry. They took me for a Prussian, at the door, and fell upon me with every kind of weapon. A chasseur, who happened to be there, and the landlord, came to my assistance; while I, battling with the peasants, had thrown two of them down. I was delivered, but not till I had received, among others, two violent bruises; one on the left arm, and another which broke the bridge of my nose. The landlord advised me to escape as fast as possible, or that the village would rise and certainly murder

murder me; my ſervant, therefore, who had retired, for defence, with a pair of piſtols, into the oven, got ready the horſes, and we rode off.

I had my bruiſes dreſſed at the next village; my hand and eyes were exceedingly ſwelled; but I was obliged to ride two miles farther, to the town of Reſſel, before I could find an able ſurgeon; and here I ſo far recovered, in a week, that I was able to return to Dantzic. My brother viſited me, while at Reſſel; but my good mother had the misfortune, as ſhe was coming to me, to be thrown out of her carriage, by which her arm was broken, ſo that ſhe and my ſiſter were obliged to return; and I never ſaw her more.

I was now at Dantzic, with my ſick convoy, where another moſt remarkable event happened, which I, with good reaſon, ſhall ever remember.

I became acquainted with a Pruſſian officer, whoſe name I ſhall conceal, out of reſpect to his very worthy family: he viſited me daily, and we often rode out together in the neighbourhood of Dantzic.

My faithful ſervant became acquainted

with his, and my aſtoniſhment was indeed great when he one day ſaid to me, with anxiety, "Beware, ſir, of a ſnare laid for "you by lieutenant N——; he means to "entice you out of town, and deliver you "up to the Pruſſians." I aſked him where he learned this: "From the lieutenant's "ſervant," anſwered he, "who is my "friend, and wiſhes to ſave me from mis-"fortune."

I now, with the aid of a couple of ducats, diſcovered the whole affair; and learned it was agreed between the Pruſſian reſident, Reimer, and the lieutenant, that the latter ſhould entice me into the ſuburb of Langfuhr, where there was an inn on the Pruſſian territories: here eight recruiting under-officers were to wait concealed, and ſeize me the moment I entered the houſe, hurry me into a carriage, and drive away for Lauenberg in Pomerania. Two under-officers were to eſcort me, on horſeback, as far as the frontiers, and the remainder to hold, and prevent me from calling for help, ſo long as we ſhould remain on the territories of Dantzic.

I farther

I farther learned my enemies were only to be armed with ſabres; and that they were to wait behind the door. The two officers on horſeback were to ſecure my ſervant, and prevent him from riding off and raiſing an alarm.

Theſe preparations might eaſily have been rendered fruitleſs, by my refuſing to accept the propoſal of the lieutenant: but vanity gave me other advice; and reſentment made me deſirous of avenging myſelf for ſuch deteſtable treachery.

Lieutenant N—— came, about noon, to dine with me as uſual; was more penſive and ſerious than I had ever obſerved him before, and left me, at four in the afternoon, after having made me promiſe to ride early next day with him as far as Langſuhr. I obſerved my conſent gave him great pleaſure; and my heart then pronounced ſentence on the traitor. The moment he had left me I went to the Ruſſian reſident, M. Scheerer, an honeſt Swiſs, related the whole conſpiracy, and aſked whether I might not take ſix of the men under my command

command for my own perſonal defence: I told him my plan, which he at firſt oppoſed; but, ſeeing me obſtinate, he anſwered, at laſt, "Do as you pleaſe; I muſt know no-"thing of the matter, nor will I make my-"ſelf reſponſible."

I immediately joined my ſoldiers, ſelected ſix men, and took them, while it was dark, oppoſite the Pruſſian inn, hid them in the corn, with an order to run to my help, with their firelocks loaded, the firſt diſcharge they ſhould hear, to ſeize all who ſhould fall into their power, and only to fire in caſe of reſiſtance. I provided them with fire-arms, by concealing them in the carriage which brought them to their hiding-place.

Notwithſtanding all theſe precautions, I ſtill thought it neceſſary to prevent ſurpriſe, by informing myſelf what were the proceedings of my enemies, leſt my intelligence ſhould have been falſe; and I learned from my ſpies that, at four in the morning, the Pruſſian reſident, Reimer, had left the city with poſt-horſe.

I loaded mine and my ſervant's horſe and

pocket

pocket piſtols, prepared my Turkiſh ſabre, and, in gratitude to the lieutenant's man, promiſed to take him into my ſervice, being convinced of his honeſty.

The lieutenant cheerfully entered about ſix in the morning, expatiated on the fineneſs of the weather, and jocoſely told me I ſhould be very kindly received by the handſome landlady of Langſuhr.

I was ſoon ready; we mounted, and left the town, attended by our ſervants. Some three hundred paces from the inn my worthy friend propoſed that we ſhould alight and let our ſervants lead the horſes, that we might enjoy the beauty of the morning: I conſented; and, having diſmounted, obſerved his treacherous eyes ſparkle with pleaſure.

The reſident, Reimer, was at the window of the inn, and called out, as ſoon as he ſaw me, "Good morrow, captain! good mor-"row! come, come in, your breakfaſt is "waiting." I, ſneering, ſmiled, and told him I had not time at preſent. So ſaying, I continued my walk; but my companion would

would abſolutely force me to enter, took me by the arm, and partly ſtruggled with me;—on which, loſing all patience, I gave him a blow, which almoſt knocked him down, and ran to my horſes as if I meant to fly.

The Pruſſians inſtantly ruſhed from behind their door, with clamour, to attack me. I fired at the firſt; my Ruſſians ſprang from their hiding place, preſented the pieces, and called "*Stuy, ſtuy, yebionnamat.*"

The terror of the poor Pruſſians may well be ſuppoſed. All began to run. I had taken care to make ſure of my lieutenant, and was next running to ſeize the reſident, but he had eſcaped out of the back door, with the loſs only of his white perriwig. The Ruſſians had taken four priſoners, and I commanded them to beſtow fifty ſtrokes upon each of them, in the open ſtreet. An enſign, named Caſſeburg, having told me his name, and that he had been my brother's ſchool-fellow, begged remiſſion, and excuſed himſelf on the neceſſity which he was under to obey his ſuperiors. I admitted

his

his excuſes, and ſuffered him to go. I then drew my ſword, and bade the lieutenant defend himſelf; but he was ſo confuſed that, after drawing his ſword, he aſked my pardon, laid the whole blame upon the reſident, and had not the power to put himſelf upon his guard. I twice jerked his ſword out of his hand; and, at laſt, taking the Ruſſian corporal's cane, I exhauſted my ſtrength with beating him, without his offering the leaſt reſiſtance. Such is the meanneſs of detected treachery. I left him kneeling, ſaying to him, "Go, raſcal! now, "and tell your comrades the manner in "which Trenck puniſhes robbers on the "highway."

The people had aſſembled round us during the action, to whom I related the affair; and the attack having happened on the territories of Dantzic, the Pruſſians were in danger of being ſtoned by the populace. I and my Ruſſians marched off victorious, proceeded to the harbour, embarked, and three or four days after ſet ſail for Riga.

It is remarkable that none of the public papers

papers took any notice of this affair; no ſatisfaction was required. The Pruſſians, no doubt, were aſhamed of being defeated in an attempt ſo perfidious.

I ſince have learned that Frederic, no doubt by the falſe repreſentations of Reimer, was highly irritated; and what afterwards happened proves his anger purſued me through every corner of the earth, till at laſt I fell into his power at Dantzic, and ſuffered a martyrdom moſt unmerited and unexampled.

The Pruſſian envoy, Goltz, indeed, made complaints to count Beſtuchef, concerning this Dantzic ſkirmiſh, but received no ſatisfaction. My conduct was juſtified in Ruſſia, I having defended myſelf againſt aſſaſſins as a Ruſſian captain ought.

Some diſpaſſionate readers may blame me for not having avoided this rencontre, and demanded perſonal ſatisfaction of lieutenant N——. But I have, through life, rather ſought than avoided danger. My vanity and revenge were both rouſed. I was every where perſecuted by the Pruſſians,

ſians, and was therefore determined to ſhow that, far from fearing, I was able to defend myſelf.

I hired the ſervant of the lieutenant, whom I found honeſt and faithful, and whom I comfortably ſettled in marriage, at Vienna, in 1753. After my ten years impriſonment, I found him poor, and again took him into my ſervice, in which he died, at Zwerbach, in 1779.

And now behold me at ſea on my voyage to Riga. I had eaten heartily before I went on board: a ſtorm came on: I worked half the night, to aid the crew, but at length became ſea-ſick, and went to lie down. Scarcely had I cloſed my eyes before the maſter came with the joyful tidings, as he thought, that we were running for the port of Pillau. Far from pleaſing, this, to me, was dreadful intelligence. I ran on deck, ſaw the harbour right before me, and a pilot coming off. The ſea muſt now be either kept in a ſtorm, or I fall into the hands of the Pruſſians; for I was known to the whole garriſon of Pillau.

I deſired

I deſired the captain to tack about and keep the ſea, but he would not liſten to me. Perceiving this, I flew to my cabin, ſnatched my piſtols, returned, ſeized the helm, and threatened the captain with inſtant death if he did not obey. My Ruſſians began to murmur; they were averſe to encountering the dangers of the ſtorm, but luckily they were ſtill more averſe to meet my anger, overawed, as they were, by my piſtols, and my two ſervants, who ſtood by me faithfully.

Half an hour after the ſtorm began to ſubſide, and we fortunately arrived, the next day, in the harbour of Riga. The captain, however, could not be appeaſed, but accuſed me before the old and honourable marſhal Lacy, then governor of Riga. I was obliged to appear, and replied to the charge by relating the truth. The governor anſwered, "My obſtinacy might have "occaſioned the death of a hundred and ſixty "perſons." I ſmiling, retorted, "I have "brought them all into port, pleaſe your "excellency; and, for my part, my fate "would

" would have been more merciful, by fall-
" ing into the hands of my God than into
" the hands of my enemies. My danger was
" ſo great, that I forgot the danger of others;
" beſides, ſir, I know my comrades were
" ſoldiers, and feared death as little as I do."
My anſwer pleaſed the fine grey-headed general, and he gave me a recommendation to the chancellor Beſtuchef at Moſcow.

General Lieuwen had marched from Moravia, for Ruſſia, with the army, and was then at Riga. I went to pay him my reſpects; he kindly received me, and took me to one of his ſeats, named Annaburg, four miles from Riga. Here I remained ſome days, and he gave me every recommendation to Moſcow, where the court then was. It was intended I ſhould endeavour to obtain a company in the regiment of cuiraſſiers, the captains of which then ranked as majors; and he adviſed me to throw up my commiſſion in the Siberian regiment of Tobolſki dragoons. Peace be to the manes and the memory of this worthy man! May God reward his benevolence! From Riga I departed,

departed, in company with M. Oettinger, lieutenant-colonel of engineers, and lieutenant Wieſmann, for Moſcow. This is the ſame Wieſmann who rendered ſo many important ſervices to Ruſſia, during the laſt war with the Turks.

On my arrival, after delivering my letters of recommendation, I was particularly well received by count Beſtuchef. Oettinger, whoſe friendſhip I had gained, was exceedingly intimate with the chancellor; and my intereſt was thereby promoted.

I had not been long at Moſcow before I met count Hamilton, my former friend during my abode at Vienna. He was captain of cavalry in the regiment of general Bernes, who had been ſent as imperial ambaſſador to Ruſſia.

Bernes had been ambaſſador at Berlin in 1743, where he had conſequently known me during the height of my favour at the court of Frederic. Hamilton preſented me to him, and I had the good fortune ſo far to gain his friendſhip, that, after a few viſits, he endeavoured to detach me from the

Ruſſian

Ruſſian ſervice, offering me the ſtrongeſt recommendations to Vienna, and a company in his own regiment. My couſin's misfortunes, however, had left too deep an impreſſion upon my memory, for me to follow his advice. The Indies would then have been preferred by me to Auſtria.

Bernes invited me to dine with him in company with his boſom friend, lord Hyndford, the Engliſh ambaſſador. How great was the pleaſure I that day received! This eminent ſtateſman had known me at Berlin, and was preſent when Frederic had honoured me, with ſaying, *C'eſt un matador de ma jeuneſſe.* He was well read in men, conceived a good opinion of my abilities, and became a friend and a father to me. He ſeated me by his ſide at table, and aſked me, "Why came you here, Trenck?"—"In "ſearch of bread and honour, my lord," anſwered I, "having unmeritedly loſt them "both in my own country." He farther inquired the ſtate of my finances; I told him my whole ſtore might be ſome thirty ducats. "Take my counſel," ſaid he; "you have

"the

" the neceſſary qualifications to ſucceed in " Ruſſia; but the people here deſpiſe poverty, " judge from the exterior only, and do " not include ſervices, or talents, in the " eſtimate; you muſt have the appearance " of being wealthy. I and Bernes will in- " troduce you into the beſt families, and " will ſupply you with the neceſſary means " of ſupport. Splendid liveries, led horſes, " diamond rings, deep play, a bold front, " undaunted freedom with ſtateſmen, and " gallantry among the ladies, are the means " by which foreigners muſt make their way " in this country. Avail yourſelf of them, " and leave the reſt to us." This leſſon laſted ſome time. Bernes entered in the interim, and they determined mutually to contribute towards my promotion.

Few of the young men who ſeek their fortune in foreign countries meet incidents ſo favourable. Fortune for a moment ſeemed willing to recompenſe my paſt ſufferings, and again to raiſe me to the height from which I had fallen. Theſe ambaſſadors, here again by accident met, had before been

witneſſes

witneſſes of my proſperity when at Berlin. The talents I poſſeſſed, and the favour I then enjoyed, attracted the notice of all foreign miniſters. They were boſom friends, equally well read in the human heart, and equally benevolent and noble-minded; their recommendation at court was deciſive; the nations they repreſented were in alliance with Ruſſia, and the confidence Beſtuchef placed in them was unbounded.

I was now introduced into all companies, not as a foreigner who came to entreat employment, but as the heir of the houſe of Trenck, and its rich Hungarian poſſeſſions, and as the former favourite of the Pruſſian monarch.

I was alſo admitted to the ſociety of the firſt literati, and wrote a poem on the anniverſary of the coronation of the empreſs Elizabeth. Hyndford took care ſhe ſhould ſee it, and, in conjunction with the chancellor, preſented me to the ſovereign. My reception was moſt gracious; ſhe herſelf recommended me to the chancellor, and preſented me with a gold-hilted ſword,

worth a thouſand rubles. This raiſed me highly in the eſteem of all the houſes of the Beſtuchef party.

Manners were at that time ſo rude in Ruſſia, that every foreigner, who gave a dinner, or a ball, muſt ſend notice to the chancellor Beſtuchef, that he might return a liſt of the gueſts allowed to be invited. Faction governed every thing; and wherever Beſtuchef was, no friend of Woronzow durſt appear. I was the intimate of the Auſtrian and Engliſh ambaſſadors; conſequently, was careſſed and eſteemed in all companies. I ſoon became the favourite of the chancellor's lady, as I ſhall hereafter notice; and nothing more was wanting to obtain all I could wiſh *.

I was well acquainted with architectural deſign, had free acceſs to the houſe and

* Books, anecdotes, private ſcandal, all inform us that the Cheſterfield ſyſtem, far from being ſuppoſed depraved, is held honourable; and its pupils boaſt of their exploits in all foreign countries. We ſay foreign, for we have an ardent hope England is ſtill an exception. T.

cabinet

cabinet of the chancellor, where I drew in company with colonel Oettinger, who was then the head architect of Ruſſia; and made the perſpective view of the new palace, which the chancellor intended to build at Moſcow, by which I acquired univerſal honour. I had gained more acquaintance in, and knowledge of, Ruſſia in one month, than others wanting my means, have done in twelve.

As I was one day relating my progreſs to lord Hyndford, he, like a friend, grown grey in courts, kindly took the parental trouble to adviſe me. From him I obtained a perfect knowledge of Ruſſia; he was acquainted with all the intrigues of European courts, their families, party cabals, the foibles of the monarchs, the principles of their government, the plans of the great Peter, and had alſo made the peace of Breſlaw. Thus, having been the confidential friend of Frederic, he was intimately acquainted with his heart, as well as the ſources of his power. Hyndford was penetrating, noble-minded, had the greatneſs

of the Briton, without his haughtineſs; and the principles, by which he combined the paſt, the preſent, and the future, were ſo clear, that I, his ſcholar, by adhering to them, have been enabled to foretell all the moſt remarkable revolutions that have happened during the ſpace of ſix and thirty years, in Europe. By theſe I knew, when any miniſter was diſgraced, who ſhould be his ſucceſſor. I daily paſſed ſome hours improving by his kind converſation; and to him am I indebted for moſt of that knowledge of the world I happen to poſſeſs.

He took various opportunities of cautioning me againſt the effects of an ardent, ſanguine temper, and my hatred of arbitrary power; warned me to beware of the determined perſecution of Frederic, of his irreconcileable anger, his intrigues and influence in the various courts of Europe, which he would certainly exert to prevent my promotion, leſt I ſhould impede his own projects; and lamented my future ſufferings, which he plainly foreſaw. "Deſpots," ſaid he, "always are ſuſpicious, "and abhor thoſe who have a conſciouſneſs

" of their own worth, of the rights of man-
" kind, and hold the laſh of ſlavery in de-
" teſtation. The enlightened are, by them,
" called reſtleſs ſpirits, turbulent and dan-
" gerous; and virtue, there, where virtue
" is unneceſſary for the humbling and tram-
" pling upon the ſuffering ſubject, is ac-
" counted a crime, of all others, the moſt to
" be dreaded."

Hyndford taught me to know, and highly to value, freedom, to deſpiſe tyrants, to endure the worſt of miſeries, to emulate true greatneſs of mind, to deſpiſe danger, and to honour only thoſe whoſe elevation of ſoul had taught them equally to oppoſe bigotry and deſpotiſm.

Bernes was a philoſopher, but with the penetration of an Italian, more cautious than Hyndford, yet equally honeſt and worthy. His friendſhip for me was unbounded; and the time paſſed in their company was eſteemed, by me, moſt precious. The liberality of my ſentiments, thirſt after knowledge and ſcientific acquirements, gained their favour: our topics of converſation

were inexhauſtible; and I acquired more real information at Moſcow than at Berlin, under the tuition of la Metri, Maupertuis, and Voltaire.

Scarcely had I been ſix weeks in this city before I had an adventure which I ſhall here relate; for, myſelf excepted, all the perſons concerned in it are now dead. Intrigues properly belong to novels. This book is intended for a more ſerious purpoſe, and they are, therefore, here uſually ſuppreſſed. It cannot be ſuppoſed I was a woman-hater. Moſt of the good or bad fortune I experienced originated in love. I was not, by nature, inconſtant, and was incapable of deceit even in amours. In the very ardour of youth I always ſhunned mere ſenſual pleaſures. I loved for more exalted reaſons, and for ſuch ſought to be loved again. Love and friendſhip were, with me, always united; and theſe I was capable of inciting, maintaining, and deſerving. The moſt difficult of acceſs, the nobleſt and the faireſt, were ever my choice; and my veneration for theſe always deterred me from groſſer gratifications.

tifications. By woman I was formed; by the faith of woman ſupported under misfortunes; in the company of woman enjoyed the few hours of delight my life of ſorrows has experienced. Woman, beautiful and well inſtructed, even now, lightens the burthen of age, the world's tedioufneſs, and its woes; and, when theſe are ended, I would rather wiſh my eyes might be cloſed by fair and virgin hands, than, when expiring, fixed on a hypocritical prieſt.

My adventures with women would amply furniſh a romance: but enough of this. I ſhould not relate the preſent, were it not neceſſary to my ſtory *.

Dining one public day with lord Hyndford, I was ſeated beſide a charming young lady of one of the beſt families in Ruſſia, who had been promiſed in marriage, though

* It would be unpardonable not to warn the youthful reader of the mixture of good and bad morality in what the baron has here, and in many other places, been pleaſed to ſay concerning love; or, rather, as he too often and too evidently means, the worſt part of love, gallantry. T.

only ſeventeen, to an old invalid miniſter. Her eyes ſoon told me ſhe thought me preferable to her intended bridegroom. I underſtood them, lamented her hard fate, and was ſurpriſed to hear her exclaim, "Oh "Heavens! that it were poſſible you could "deliver me from my misfortune! I would "engage to do whatever you would direct."

The impreſſion ſuch an appeal muſt make on a man of four and twenty, of a temperament like mine, may eaſily be ſuppoſed. The lady was raviſhingly beautiful: her ſoul was candour itſelf, and her rank that of a princeſs; but the court commands had already been given in favour of the marriage; and flight, with all its inſeparable dangers, was the only expedient. A public table was no place for long explanations. Our hearts were already one. I requeſted an interview, and the next day was appointed, the place the Trotzer garden, where I paſſed three rapturous hours in her company; thanks to her woman, who was a Georgian.

To eſcape, however, from Moſcow was impoſſible. The diſtance thence, to any foreign

foreign country, was too great. The court was not to remove to Peterſburg till the next ſpring, and her marriage was fixed for the firſt of Auguſt. The misfortune was not to be remedied, and nothing was left us but patience perforce. We could only reſolve to fly from Peterſburg, when there, the ſooneſt poſſible, and to take refuge in ſome corner of the earth, where we might remain unknown of all. The marriage, therefore, was celebrated with pomp; though I, in deſpite of forms, was the true huſband of the princeſs. Such was the ſtate of the huſband impoſed upon her, that, to deſcribe it, and not give diſguſt, were impoſſible.

The princeſs gave me her jewels, and ſeveral thouſand rubles, which ſhe had received as a nuptial preſent, that I might purchaſe every thing neceſſary for flight: my evil deſtiny, however, had otherwiſe determined. I was playing at ombre with her, one night, at the houſe of the counteſs of Beſtuchef, when ſhe complained of a violent head-ach, appointed me to meet her, on the morrow, in the Trotzer gardens, claſped my

hand with inexpreſſible emotion, and departed. Alas! I never beheld her more, till ſtretched upon her bier!

She grew delirious that very night, and ſo continued till her death, which happened on the ſixth day, when the ſmall-pox began to appear. During her dereliction ſhe diſcovered our love, and inceſſantly called on me to deliver her from her tyrant. Thus, in the flower of her age, periſhed one of the moſt lovely women I ever knew; and with her fled all I held moſt dear.

All my plans were now to be new arranged. Lord Hyndford alone was in the ſecret, for I had no ſecrets for him: he ſtrengthened me in my firſt reſolution, and owned that he himſelf, for ſuch a miſtreſs, might perhaps have been weak enough to have acted as I had done. Almoſt as much moved as myſelf, he ſympathiſed with me like a friend; and his advice deterred me from ending my miſeries, and deſcending with her, whom I had loved and loſt, to the grave. This was the ſevereſt trial I had ever felt. Our affection was unbounded,

and

and ſuch only as noble hearts can feel. She being gone, the whole world became a deſert. There is not a man on earth whoſe life affords more various turns of fate than mine. Swiftly raiſed to the higheſt pinnacle of hope, as ſuddenly was I caſt headlong down; and ſo remarkable were theſe revolutions, that he who has read my hiſtory will at laſt find it difficult to ſay whether he envies or pities me moſt. And yet theſe were, in reality, but preparatory to the evils that hovered over my devoted head. Had not the remembrance of paſt joys ſoothed and ſupported me under my ſufferings, I certainly ſhould not have endured the ten years torture of the Magdeburg dungeon, with a fortitude that might have been worthy even of Socrates.

Enough of this. My blood again courſes ſwifter through my veins as I write! Reſt, gentle maiden, noble and lovely as thou wert! For thee ought Heaven to have united a form ſo fair, animated as it was by a ſoul ſo pure, to ever-blooming youth and immortality.

My love for this lady became well known in Moſcow; yet her corpulent overgrown huſband had not underſtanding enough to ſuppoſe there was any meaning in her rhapſodies during her delirium.

Her gifts to me amounted, in value, to about ſeven thouſand ducats. Lord Hyndford and count Bernes both adjudged them legally mine; and well am I aſſured her heart had bequeathed me much more.

To this event ſucceeded another, by which my fortune was greatly influenced. The counteſs of Beſtuchef was then the moſt amiable and witty woman at court. Her huſband, cunning, ſelfiſh, but ſhallow, had the name of miniſter, while ſhe, in reality, governed with a genius at once daring and comprehenſive. The too pliant Elizabeth careleſsly left the moſt important things to the direction of others. Thus the counteſs was the firſt perſon of the empire, and on whom the attention of all the foreign miniſters was fixed.

Haughty and majeſtic in demeanor, ſhe was ſuppoſed to be the only woman at court

who

who continued faithful to her huſband; which ſuppoſition probably originated in her art and education, ſhe being a German born; for I afterward found her virtue was only pride, and a knowledge of the national character. The Ruſſian lover rules deſpotic over his miſtreſs; requires money, ſubmiſſion, and, ſhould he meet oppoſition, threatens her with blows and the diſcovery of her ſecret.

During Elizabeth's reign foreigners could neither appear at court, nor in the beſt company, without the introduction of Beſtuchef. I and Sievers, gentlemen of the chamber, were at that time the only Germans who had free egreſs in all houſes of faſhion: my being protected by the Engliſh and Auſtrian ambaſſadors, gave me very peculiar advantages, and made my company every-where courted.

Beſtuchef had been reſident, during the late reign, at Hamburg, in which inferior ſtation he married the counteſs, at that time, though young and handſome, only the widow

of

of the merchant Boettger. Under Elizabeth Beſtuchef roſe to the ſummit of rank and power; and the widow Boettger became the firſt lady in the empire. When I knew her, ſhe was eight and thirty, conſequently no beauty, though a woman highly endowed in mind and manners, of keen diſcernment, diſliking the Ruſſians, protecting the Pruſſians, and at whoſe averſion all trembled.

Her carriage towards the Ruſſians was, what it muſt be in her ſituation, lofty, cautious, and ironical, rather than kind. To me ſhe ſhowed the utmoſt eſteem on all occaſions, welcomed me to her table, and often admitted me to drink coffee in company with herſelf alone and colonel Oettinger. The counteſs never failed giving me to underſtand ſhe had perceived my love for the princeſs N——; and, though I conſtantly denied the fact, ſhe related circumſtances which ſhe could have known, as I thought, only from my miſtreſs herſelf: my ſilence pleaſed her; for the Ruſſians, when a lady

has

has a partiality for them, never fail to vaunt of their good fortune. She wiſhed to perſuade me ſhe had obſerved us in company, had read the language of our eyes, and had long penetrated our ſecret. I was ignorant at that time that ſhe then, and had long before, entertained the maid of my miſtreſs as a ſpy in her pay.

About a week after the death of the princeſs, the counteſs invited me to take coffee with her in her chamber; lamented my loſs, and the violence of that paſſion which had deprived me of all my cuſtomary vivacity, and altered my very appearance. She ſeemed ſo intereſted in my behalf, and expreſſed ſo many wiſhes, and ſo ardent, to better my fate, that I could no longer doubt. Another opportunity ſoon happened, which confirmed theſe my ſuſpicions: her mouth confeſſed her ſentiments. Diſcretion, ſecreſy, and fidelity, were the laws ſhe impoſed; and never did I experience a more ardent paſſion from woman. Such was her underſtanding and penetration, ſhe knew how to rivet my affections.

Caution

Caution was the thing moſt neceſſary. She contrived, however, to make opportunity. The chancellor valued, confided in me, and employed me in his cabinet; ſo that I remained whole days in the houſe. My captainſhip of cavalry was now no longer thought of: I was deſtined to political employment. My firſt was to be gentleman of the chamber, which in Ruſſia is an office of importance; and the proſpect of futurity became to me moſt reſplendent. Lord Hyndford, ever the repoſitory of my ſecrets, counſelled me, formed plans for my conduct, rejoiced at my ſucceſs, and refuſed to be reimburſed the expence he had been at, though now my circumſtances were proſperous.

The degree of credit I enjoyed ſoon was noticed: foreign miniſters began to pay their court to me; Goltz, the Pruſſian miniſter, made every effort to win me, but found me incorruptible.

The Ruſſian alliance was at this time highly courted by foreign powers; the humbling of Pruſſia was the thing generally wiſhed and planned; and nobody was better informed

informed than myſelf of miniſterial and family factions at this court.

My miſtreſs, a year after my acquaintance with her, fell into her enemies' power, and, with her huſband, was delivered over to the executioner. Chancellor Beſtuchef, in the year 1756, was forced to confeſſion, by the knout. Apraxin, miniſter of war, had a ſimilar fate. The wife of his brother, then envoy in Poland, was, by the treachery of a certain lieutenant Berger, with three others of the firſt ladies of the court, knouted, branded, and had their tongues cut out. This happened in the year 1741, when Elizabeth aſcended the throne. Her huſband, however, faithfully ſerved; I knew him, as Ruſſian envoy, at Vienna, in 1751. This may indeed be called the love of our country, and thus does it happen to the firſt men of the ſtate: what then can a foreigner hope for, if perſecuted, and in the power of thoſe in authority *?

No

* There is a confuſion of dates, as well as facts, in the above paragraph. Perhaps there may be ſome error

of

No man, in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time, had greater opportunities than I to diſcover the ſecrets of ſtate; eſpecially when guided by Hyndford and Bernes, under the reign of a well-meaning, but ſhort-ſighted empreſs, whoſe firſt miniſter was a weak man, directed by the will of an able and ambitious wife; and which wife loved me, a ſtranger, an acquaintance only of a few months, ſo paſſionately, that to this paſſion ſhe would have ſacrificed every other object. She might, in fact, be conſidered as empreſs of Ruſſia, diſpoſing of peace or war; and, had I been more prudent or leſs ſincere, I might, in ſuch a ſituation, have amaſſed treaſures, and depoſited them in full ſecurity. Her generoſity was boundleſs; and, though obliged to pay above a hundred thouſand rubles in one year, to diſcharge her ſon's debts, yet might I have ſaved a ſtill larger ſum; but half of the gifts ſhe obliged me

of the preſs; and the baron's long impriſonment, and the advanced age in which he wrote, might both, or either, lead to miſtake. The baron's chronology, even of himſelf, is, throughout, very inaccurate. T.

to

to receive I lent to this ſon, and loſt. So far was I from ſelfiſh, and ſo negligent of wealth, that, by ſupplying the wants of others, I often, on a reverſe of fortune, ſuffered want myſelf.

This my ſplendid ſucceſs in Ruſſia diſpleaſed the great Frederic, whoſe perſecution every-where attended me, and who ſuppoſed his intereſt injured by my ſucceſs in Ruſſia. The incident I am going to relate was, at the time it happened, well known to, and cauſed much agitation among, all the foreign ambaſſadors.

Lord Hyndford deſired I would make him a fair copy of a plan of Cronſtadt, for which he furniſhed the materials, with three additional drawings of the various ſhips in the harbour, and their names. There was neither danger nor ſuſpicion attending this; the plan of Cronſtadt being no ſecret, but publicly ſold in the ſhops of Peterſburg. England was likewiſe then in the cloſeſt alliance with Ruſſia. Hyndford ſhowed the drawing to Funk, the Saxon envoy, his intimate friend, who aſked his permiſſion

to

to copy it himſelf. Hyndford gave him the plan ſigned with my name; and after Funk had been ſome days employed copying it, the Pruſſian miniſter, Goltz, who lived in his neighbourhood, came in, as he frequently paid him friendly viſits. Funk, unſuſpectingly, ſhowed him my drawing; and both lamented that Frederic had loſt ſo uſeful a ſubject. Goltz aſked to borrow it, for a couple of days, in order to correct his own; and Funk, one of the worthieſt, moſt honeſt, and leaſt ſuſpicious of men, who loved me like a brother, accordingly lent the plan.

No ſooner was Goltz in poſſeſſion of it, than he hurried to the chancellor, with whoſe weakneſſes he was well acquainted, told him his intent in coming was to prove that a man, who had once been unfaithful to his king and country, where he had been loaded with favours, would certainly betray, for his own private intereſt, every ſtate where he was truſted. He continued his preface, by ſpeaking of the rapid progreſs I had made in Ruſſia, and the free entrance I

had

had found in the chancellor's houſe, where I was received as a ſon, and initiated in the ſecrets of the cabinet.

The chancellor defended me:—Goltz then endeavoured to incite his jealouſy, and told him my private interviews with his wife, eſpecially in the palace garden, were publicly ſpoken of. This he had learned from his ſpies, he having endeavoured, by the ſnares he laid, to make my deſtruction certain.

He likewiſe led Beſtuchef to ſuſpect his ſecretary, S—n, was a party in the intrigue; till at laſt the chancellor became very angry; Goltz then took my plan of Cronſtadt from his pocket, and added, "Your "excellency is nouriſhing a ſerpent in your "boſom. This drawing have I received "from Trenck, copied from your cabinet "deſigns, for two hundred ducats." He knew I was employed there ſometimes with Oettinger, whoſe office it was to inſpect the buildings and repairs of all the Ruſſian fortifications. Beſtuchef was aſtoniſhed; his anger became violent; and Goltz added

fuel

fuel to the flame, by inſinuating I ſhould not be ſo powerfully protected by Bernes, the Auſtrian ambaſſador, were it not to favour the views of his own court. Beſtuchef mentioned proſecution and the knout; Goltz replied, my friends were too powerful, my pardon would be procured, and the evil this way increaſed. They therefore determined to have me ſecretly ſecured, and privately conveyed to Siberia.

Thus, while I unſuſpectingly dreamed of nothing but happineſs, the gathering ſtorm threatened deſtruction; which only was averted by accident, or God's good providence.

Goltz had ſcarcely left the place, triumphant, when the chancellor entered, with bitterneſs and rancour in his heart, into his lady's apartment, reproached her with my conduct, and, while ſhe endeavoured to ſooth him, related all that had paſſed. Her penetration was much deeper than her huſband's: ſhe perceived there was a plot againſt me: ſhe indeed knew my heart better than any other, and particularly that I was not in want of a poor two hundred

ducats.

ducats. She could not, however, appeaſe him; and my arreſt was determined. She therefore inſtantly wrote me a line to the following purport.

" You are threatened, dear friend, by a " very imminent danger. Do not ſleep to- " night at home, but ſecure yourſelf at " Lord Hyndford's till you hear farther " from me."

Secretary S—n, her confidant (the ſame who, not long ſince, was Ruſſian envoy at Ratiſbon), was ſent with this note. He found me, after dinner, at the Engliſh ambaſſador's, and called me aſide. I read the billet, was aſtoniſhed at its contents, and ſhowed it Lord Hyndford. My conſcience was void of reproach, except that we ſuſpected my ſecret with the counteſs had been betrayed to the chancellor; and, fearing his jealouſy, Hyndford commanded me to remain in his houſe till we ſhould make further diſcovery.

We placed ſpies round the houſe where I lived: I was inquired for after midnight,

and

and the lieutenant of the police came himſelf, and ſearched the houſe.

Lord Hyndford went, about ten in the morning, to viſit the chancellor, that he might obtain ſome intelligence; who immediately reproached him for having granted an aſylum to a traitor. "What has this "traitor done?" ſaid Hyndford. "Faithleſsly copied a plan of Cronſtadt, from "my cabinet drawings," anſwered the chancellor, "which he has ſold, to the Pruſſian "miniſter, for two hundred ducats."

Hyndford was aſtoniſhed; he knew me well, and alſo knew that he had then in money and jewels, more than eight thouſand ducats of mine in his own hands; nor was he leſs ignorant of the little value I ſet on money, or of the ſources whence I could obtain it, when I pleaſed. "Has "your excellency actually ſeen this drawing of Trenck's?"—"Yes; I have been "ſhown it by Goltz."—"I wiſh I might "likewiſe be permitted to ſee it; I know "Trenck's drawing, and make myſelf re"ſponſible that he is no traitor. Here is

"ſome

" ſome myſtery; be ſo kind as to deſire M.
" Goltz will come, and bring his plan of
" Cronſtadt. Trenck is at my houſe, ſhall
" be forthcoming inſtantly, and I will not
" protect him if he proves guilty."

The chancellor wrote to Goltz, but he, artful as he was, had, no doubt, taken care to be informed that the lieutenant of the police had miſſed his prey. He therefore ſent an excuſe, and did not appear. In the mean time I entered. Hyndford then addreſſed me, with the openneſs of an Engliſhman, and aſked—" Are you a traitor,
" Trenck? If ſo, you do not merit my
" protection, but you ſtand here a ſtate pri-
" ſoner. Have you ſold a plan of Cronſtadt
" to M. Goltz!" My anſwer may eaſily be ſuppoſed. Hyndford rehearſed what the chancellor had told him, I was deſired to leave the room, and Funk was ſent for. The moment he came in, Hyndford ſaid,
" Sir, where is that plan of Cronſtadt which
" Trenck copied?" Funk, heſitating, replied, " I will go for it." " Have you it,"

continued Hyndford, "at home? Speak "upon your honour."—"No, my lord, I "have lent it for a few days, to M. Goltz, "that he may take a copy."

Hyndford immediately then ſaw the whole affair, told the chancellor the hiſtory of this plan, which belonged to him, and which he had lent to Funk, and requeſted a truſty perſon might be ſent with him, to make proper ſearch. Beſtuchef named his firſt ſecretary, and to him were added Funk and the Dutch envoy, Schwart, who happened then to enter. All went together to the houſe of Goltz. Funk here demanded his plan of Cronſtadt; Goltz gave it him, and Funk returned it to lord Hyndford.

The ſecretary and Hyndford both then deſired he would produce the plan of Cronſtadt, which he had bought of Trenck for two hundred ducats. His confuſion now was great, and Hyndford firmly inſiſted this plan ſhould be forth-coming, to vindicate the honour of Trenck, whom he held to be an honeſt man. On this, Goltz anſwered,

ſwered, "I have received my king's com-
"mands to prevent the preferment of
"Trenck in Ruſſia, and I have only fulfilled
"the duty of a miniſter."

Hyndford ſpit on the ground, and ſaid more than I now chooſe to repeat; after which the four gentlemen returned to the chancellor, and I was again called. Every body complimented me, related what had paſſed, and the chancellor promiſed I ſhould be recompenſed; ſtrictly, however, forbidding me to take any revenge on the Pruſſian ambaſſador, I having ſworn, in the firſt tranſports of anger, to puniſh him wherever I ſhould find him, even were it at the altar's foot.

The chancellor ſoothed me, kept me to dine with him, and endeavoured to aſſuage my boiling paſſions. The counteſs affected indifference, and aſked me if ſuch-like actions characteriſed the Pruſſian nation. Funk and Schwart were at table. All preſent congratulated me on my victory, but none knew to whom I was indebted for

deliverance from the haſty and unjuſt condemnation of the chancellor, although my protectreſs was one of the company. I received a preſent of two thouſand rubles, the next day, from the chancellor, with orders to thank the empreſs for this mark of her bounty, and accept it as a ſign of her eſpecial favour. I paid theſe my thanks ſome days after. The money I diſregarded; but the amiable empreſs, by her enchanting benevolence, made me forget the paſt. The ſtory became public, and Goltz appeared neither in company nor at court. The manner in which the counteſs, perſonally, reproached him, I ſhall, out of reſpect, paſs over. Bernes, the crafty Piedmonteſe, aſſured me of revenge, without my troubling myſelf in the matter, and—what happened after I know not: Goltz appeared but little in company, fell ill when I had left Ruſſia, and died, ſoon after, of a conſumption.

This vile man was, no doubt, the cauſe of all the calamities which afterward fell upon

upon me*. I ſhould have become one of the firſt men in Ruſſia; the misfortunes that befel Beſtuchef, and his family, ſome years afterward, might have been averted; I ſhould never have returned to Vienna, a city ſo fatal to the name of Trenck; by the mediation of the Ruſſian court, I ſhould have recovered my great Sclavonian eſtates; my days of perſecution, at Vienna, would have been paſſed in peace and pleaſure: nor ſhould I have entered the dungeon of Magdeburg.

How little did the *Great* Frederic know my heart! Without having offended, he had rendered me miſerable, had condemned me to impriſonment, at Glatz, on mere ſuſpicion, and, flying thence, naked and deſtitute, had confiſcated my paternal inheritance. Not contented with inflicting all theſe calamities, he would not ſuffer me,

* The baron forgets himſelf, and continually makes the perſon, or incident, he is then ſpeaking of, the principal and firſt cauſe of his future ſufferings. They were incurred by a combination of theſe cauſes. T.

peaceably, to ſeek my fortune in a foreign land.

Few are the youths, who, in ſo ſhort a time, being expelled their native country with diſgrace, by their own efforts, merits, and talents, have obtained honour and favour ſo great, acquired ſuch powerful friends, or been entruſted, with confidence equally unlimited, in tranſactions ſo important. Enraged as I was at the treachery of Goltz, had opportunity offered, I might have been tempted even to turn my native country into a deſert; nor do I deny that I afterward promoted the views of the Auſtrian envoy, who knew well to cheriſh the flame that had been kindled, and turn it to his own uſe. Till this moment I certainly never felt the leaſt enmity, either to my country or king, nor did I ever ſuffer myſelf, on any occaſion, to be made the agent of their diſadvantage.

No ſooner was I entruſted, more intimately, with cabinet ſecrets, than I diſcovered the ſtate of factions, and that Beſtuchef and Apraxin were, even then, in Pruſſian

pay;

pay; that a counterpoiſe, by their means, might be formed to the prevalence of the Auſtrian party.

Hence we may date the change of Ruſſian politics in the year 1762. Here alſo we may find a clue to the contradictory orders, artifices, poſitions, retreats, and diſappointments of the Ruſſian army, in the ſeven-years' war*. The counteſs, who was obliged to act with greater caution, foreſaw the conſequences of the various intrigues in which her huſband was engaged: her love for me naturally drew her from her former party: ſhe confided every ſecret to me, and ever remained, till her fall, which happened in 1758, during my impriſonment, my beſt friend and correſpondent. Hence was I ſo well informed of all the plans againſt Pruſſia, to the years 1754 and 1756; much more ſo than many miniſters of the intereſted courts, who imagined they alone were in the ſecret. How many after

* Beginning in 1756; ſo called by the German writers. T.

events could I then have foretold! Such was the perverſeneſs of my deſtiny, that, where I ſhould moſt have been ſought for, and beſt known, there was I leaſt valued.

No man, in my youth, would have believed I ſhould live to my ſixtieth year, untitled and obſcure. In Berlin, Peterſburg, London, and Paris, have I been eſteemed by the greateſt ſtateſmen, and now am I reduced to the invalid liſt. How ſtrange are the caprices of fortune! I ought never to have left Ruſſia; this was my great error, which I ſtill live to repent.

I have never been accuſtomed to ſleep more than four or five hours; ſo that, though, through life, I have allowed time for paying viſits and receiving company, I have ſtill had ſufficient for ſtudy and improvement. Hyndford was my inſtructor in politics; Boerhaave, then phyſician to the court, and my boſom friend, my tutor in phyſic and literary ſubjects. Women formed me for court intrigues; though theſe, as a philoſopher, I deſpiſed.

The

The chancellor had greatly changed his carriage toward me ſince the incident of the plan. He obſerved my looks and words, ſhowed he was diſtruſtful, and deſirous of revenge. His lady, as well as myſelf, remarked this, and new meaſures became neceſſary. I was obliged to act an artful, but, at the ſame time, a very dangerous part.

My couſin, baron Trenck, died in the Spielberg, October 4, 1749, and left me his heir, on condition I ſhould only ſerve the houſe of Auſtria. In March, 1750, count Bernes received the citation ſent me to enter on this inheritance. I would hear nothing of Vienna; the abominable treatment of my couſin terrified me. I well knew the origin of his proſecution, the ſervices he had rendered his country, and had been an eye-witneſs of the injuſtice by which he was repaid. Bernes, however, repreſented that the property left me was worth much above a million; that the empreſs would ſupport me in the purſuit of juſtice, and that I had no perſonal enemy

at Vienna; that a million of certain property, in Hungary, was much ſuperior to the higheſt expectations in Ruſſia, where I myſelf had beheld ſo many changes of fortune, and the effects of family cabals. Ruſſia he painted as dangerous, Vienna as ſecure, and promiſed me himſelf effectual aſſiſtance, as his embaſſy would end within the year. Were I once rich, I might reſide in what country I pleaſed; nor could the perſecutions of Frederic, any-where, purſue me ſo ineffectually as in Auſtria. Snares would be laid for me every-where elſe, as I had experienced in Ruſſia. "What," ſaid he, "would have been the "conſequences, had not the counteſs warned you of the impending danger? You, "like many another honeſt and innocent "man, would have been ſent to Siberia. "Your innocence muſt have remained unatteſted, and yourſelf, in the univerſal "opinion, a villain and a traitor."

Hyndford ſpoke to me in the ſame tone, aſſured me of his eternal protection, and deſcribed London as a certain aſylum, ſhould

ſhould I not find happineſs at Vienna. He ſpoke of ſlavery as a Briton ought to ſpeak, reminded me of the fate of Munich and Oſterman, painted the court ſuch as I knew it to be, and aſked what were my expectations, even were I fortunate enough to become general, or miniſter, in ſuch a country?

Theſe reaſonings, at length, determined me; but having plenty of money, I thought proper to take Stockholm, Copenhagen, and Holland, in my way; and Bernes was, in the mean time, to prepare me a favourable reception at Vienna. He deſired, alſo, I would give him authority to get poſſeſſion of the eſtates to which I was heir. My miſtreſs ſtrongly endeavoured to detain me; but yielded, at length, to the force of reaſon. I tore myſelf away, and promiſed, on my honour, to return as ſoon as I had arranged my affairs at Vienna. She made the propoſition of inveſting me with ſome foreign embaſſy, by which I might render the moſt effectual ſervices to the court of Vienna. In this hope we parted with heavy hearts: ſhe

preſented me with her portrait, and a ſnuff-box ſet with diamonds: the firſt of theſe, three years afterward, was torn from my boſom by the officers in my firſt dungeon at Magdeburg; as I ſhall hereafter relate. The chancellor embraced me, at parting, with friendſhip. Apraxin wept, and claſped me in his arms, propheſying, at the ſame time, I ſhould never be ſo happy as in Ruſſia. I myſelf foreboded misfortune, and quitted Ruſſia with regret; but ſtill followed the advice of Hyndford and Bernes.

From Moſcow I travelled to Peterſburg, where I found a letter, at the houſe of baron Wolf, the banker, from the counteſs, which rent my very heart, and almoſt determined me to return. She endeavoured to terrify me from proceeding to Vienna, yet incloſed a bill for four thouſand rubles, to aid me on my journey, were I abſolutely bent to turn my back on fortune.

My effects, in money and jewels, amounted to about thirty-ſix thouſand florins; I therefore returned the draught, intreated her eternal remembrance, and that ſhe would reſerve

reserve her favour and support to times in which they might become needful. After remaining a few days at Petersburg, I journeyed, by land, to Stockholm; taking with me letters of recommendation from all the foreign envoys.

I forgot to mention that Funk was inconsolable for my departure; his imprudence had nearly plunged me into misery, and destroyed all my hopes in Russia. Twenty-two years after this I met the worthy man once more in Dresden. He, there, considered himself as the cause of all the evils inflicted on me, and assured me the recital of my sufferings had been so many cutting and bitter reproaches to his soul. Our recapitulation of former times gave us endless pleasure; and it was the sweetest of joys to meet and renew my friendship with such a man, after having weathered so many storms of fate.

At Stockholm I wanted for no recommendation: the queen, sister to the great Frederic, had known me at Berlin, when I had the honour, as an officer of the body-guard, of accompanying her to Stettin. I related my

whole

whole hiſtory to her without reſerve. She, from political motives, adviſed me not to make any ſtay in Stockholm; and to me continued, till death, an ever gracious lady. I proceeded to Copenhagen, where I had buſineſs to tranſact for M. Chaiſe, the Daniſh envoy at Moſcow; from whom, alſo, I had letters of recommendation. Here I had the pleaſure of meeting my old friend, lieutenant Bach, who had aided me in my eſcape from my impriſonment at Glatz. He was poor, and in debt; and I procured him protection, by relating the noble manner in which he had behaved. I alſo preſented him with five hundred ducats, by the aid of which he puſhed his fortune. He wrote to me, in the year 1776, a letter of ſincereſt thanks; and died a colonel of huſſars, in the Daniſh ſervice, in 1779.

I remained in Copenhagen but a fortnight, and then ſailed, in a Dutch ſhip, from Elſineur for Amſterdam. Scarcely had we put to ſea before a ſtorm aroſe, by which we loſt a maſt and our bowſprit, had our ſails ſhattered, and were obliged to caſt anchor

anchor among the rocks of Gottenburg; where our deliverance was ſingularly fortunate.

Here we lay nine days before we could make the open ſea, and here I found a very pleaſant amuſement, by going daily in the ſhip's boat from rock to rock, attended by two of my ſervants, to ſhoot wild ducks, and catch ſhell-fiſh; whence I every evening returned with proviſions, and ſheeps' milk, bought of the poor inhabitants, for the ſhip's crew.

There was a dearth among theſe poor people. Our veſſel was laden with corn; ſome of this I purchaſed, to the amount of ſome hundreds of Dutch florins, and diſtributed wherever I went. I alſo gave one of their miniſters a hundred florins for his poor congregation, who was himſelf in want of bread, and whoſe annual ſtipend did not amount to one hundred and fifty florins.

Here, in the ſweet pleaſure of doing good, I left behind me much of that money I had ſo eaſily acquired in Ruſſia; and, perhaps, had we ſtaid much longer, ſhould myſelf

myſelf have left the place in poverty. A thouſand bleſſings followed me; and the ſtorm-driven Trenck was long remembered and talked of at Gottenburg.

In this worthy employment, however, I had nearly loſt my life. Returning from carrying corn, the wind roſe, and drove the boat to ſea. I not underſtanding the management of the helm, and the ſervant awkwardly handling the ſails, the boat, in tacking, was overſet. The benefit of learning to ſwim I again experienced; and my faithful ſervant, who had gained the rock, aided me when almoſt ſpent. The good people, who had ſeen the ſhallop overſet, came off in their boats to my aſſiſtance. An honeſt Calmuc, whom I had brought from Ruſſia, and another of my ſervants, periſhed. I ſaw the firſt ſink after I had reached the ſhore.

The kind Swedes brought me on board, and alſo righted and returned with the ſhallop. For ſome days I was ſea-ſick. We weighed anchor, and ſailed for the Texel; the mouth of which we ſaw, and the pilots coming off, when another ſtorm roſe, and

drove

drove us to the port of Bahus, in Norway, into which we ran, without farther damage. In ſome few days we again ſet ſail, with a fair wind, and at length reached Amſterdam.

Here I made no long ſtay; for the day after my arrival, an extraordinary adventure happened, in which I was engaged chiefly by my own raſhneſs.

I was a ſpectator while the harpooners, belonging to the whale-fiſhery, were exerciſing themſelves in darting their harpoons, moſt of whom were drunk. One of them, Herman Rogaar by name, a hero among theſe people for his dexterity with his ſnickaſee, came up, and paſſed ſome of his coarſe jokes upon my Turkiſh ſabre, and offered to fillip me on the noſe. I puſhed him from me, and the fellow threw down his cap, drew his ſnickaſee, challenged me, called me monkey tail, and aſked whether I choſe a ſtraight, a circular, or a croſs cut.

Thus, here was I, in this excellent company, with no choice but that of either fighting

ing or running away. The robuſt Herculean fellow grew more inſolent, and I, turning round to the by-ſtander, aſked them to lend me a ſnickaſee: "No, no," ſaid the challenger, "draw your great knife from "your ſide, and, long as it is, I will lay you "a dozen ducats you get a gaſh in the "cheek." I drew: he confidently advanced with his ſnickaſee, and, at the firſt ſtroke of my ſabre, that, and the hand that held it, both dropt to the ground, and the blood ſpouted in my face.

I now expected the people would, indubitably, tear me to pieces; but my fear was changed into aſtoniſhment at hearing a univerſal ſhout applauding the vanquiſher of the reddubted Herman Rogaar, who, ſo lately feared for his ſtrength and dexterity, became the object of their ridicule. A Jew ſpectator conducted me out of the crowd, and the people clamorouſly followed me to my inn. This kind of duel, by which I gained honour, would any where elſe have brought me to the higheſt diſgrace. A man who knew the uſe of the ſabre, in a ſingle

day,

day, might, certainly, have diſabled a hundred Herman Rogaars. This ſtory may inſtruct and warn others. He that is quarrelſome ſhall never want an enemy. My temerity often engaged me in diſputes which, by timely compliance and calmneſs, might eaſily have been avoided; but my evil genius always impelled me into the paths of perplexity, and I ſeldom ſaw danger till it was inevitable.

I left Amſterdam for the Hague, where I had been recommended to lord Holderneſs the Engliſh ambaſſador, by lord Hyndford; to baron Reiſchach, by Bernes; to the grand penſionary Fagel, by Schwart; and from the chancellor I had a letter to the prince of Orange himſelf. I could not therefore but be every where received with all poſſible diſtinction. With theſe recommendations, and the knowledge I poſſeſſed, had I had the good fortune to have avoided Vienna, and gone to India, where talents would have inſured me wealth, how many tears of affliction had I been ſpared! My ill fortune, however, had brought me letters

from

from count Bernes, aſſuring me that heaven was at Vienna, and including a citation from the high court, requiring me to give in my claim of inheritance. Bernes farther informed me the Auſtrian court had aſſured him I ſhould meet with all juſtice and protection, and adviſed me to haſten my journey, as the executorſhip of the eſtates of Trenck was conducted but little to my advantage.

This advice I took, proceeded to Vienna, and from that moment all my happineſs had an end. I became bewildered in law-ſuits, and the arts of wicked men, and all poſſible calamities aſſaulted me at once, the recital of which would, itſelf, afford ſubject matter for a hiſtory. They began by the following incidents.

One M. Schenck ſought my acquaintance at the Hague. I met with him at my hotel, where he intreated I would take him to Nuremberg, whence he was to proceed to Saxony. I complied, and bore his expences; but at Hanau, waking in the morning, I found my watch, ſet with diamonds, a ring worth two thouſand rubles, a diamond ſnuff-

box,

box, with my miſtreſs's picture, and my purſe, containing about eighty ducats, ſtolen from my bed-ſide, and Schenck become inviſible. Little affected by the loſs of money, at any time, I yet was grieved for my ſnuff-box. The raſcal, however, had eſcaped, and it was fortunate that the remainder of my ready money, with my bills of exchange, were ſafely locked up.

I now purſued my journey without company, and arrived at Vienna. I cannot exactly recollect in what month, but I had been abſent about two years; and the reader will allow that it was barely poſſible for any man, in ſo ſhort a time, to have experienced more various changes of fate; though many ſmaller incidents have been ſuppreſſed. The places, where my pledged fidelity required diſcretion, will be eaſily ſuppoſed, as likewiſe will the concealment of court intrigues and artifices, the publication of which might even yet ſubject me to more perſecutions. All writers are not permitted to ſpeak truth of monarchs and miniſters. I am the father of eight children,

and

and parental love and duty vanquiſh the inclination of the author; and this duty, this affection, have made me particularly cautious in relating what happened to me at Vienna, that I might thereby ſerve them more effectually, than by indulging the pride of the writer, or the vengeance of the man.

Since accounts ſo various, contradictory, and diſhonourable to the name of Trenck, have been circulated in Vienna, concerning facts which happened thirty-ſeven years ago, I will here give a ſhort abſtract of them, and ſuch as may be verified by the records of the courts. I pledge my honour to the truth of the ſtatement, and, were I ſo allowed, would prove it to the conviction of any unprejudiced court of juſtice; but this I cannot hope, as princes are much more diſpoſed to beſtow unmerited favours than to make retribution to thoſe whom they have unjuſtly puniſhed.

Francis Baron Trenck died in the Spielberg, October 4, 1749. It has been erroneouſly believed, in Vienna, that his eſtates were

were confiſcated by the ſentence which condemned him to the Spielberg. He had committed no offence againſt the ſtate, was accuſed of none, much leſs convicted.—The court's ſentence was, that the adminiſtration of his eſtate ſhould be committed to counſellor Kempf and baron Peyaczewitz, who were ſelected by himſelf, and the accounts of his ſtewards and farmers were to be ſent him yearly. He continued, till his death, to have the free and entire diſpoſal of his property.

Although, before his death, he ſent for his advocate, doctor Berger, and by him petitioned the empreſs ſhe would iſſue the neceſſary orders to the governor of the Spielberg, to permit the entrance of witneſſes, and all things neceſſary to make a legal will, it by no means follows that he petitioned her for permiſſion to make this will. The caſe is too clear to admit of doubt. The royal commands were given, that he ſhould enjoy all freedom of making his will. Permiſſion was alſo given, that during his ſickneſs he might be removed to the capuchin con-

convent, which was equal to liberty, but this he refuſed to accept.

Neither was his ability to make a will queſtioned. The advocate was only to requeſt the queen's permiſſion to ſupply ſome formalities, which had been neglected, when he purchaſed the lordſhips of Velika and Nuſtar, which petition was likewiſe granted. The royal mandate ſtill exiſts, which commiſſioned the perſons therein named as truſtees to the eſtate and effects of Trenck, and this mandate runs thus: "Let the laſt will of Trenck be duly exe-"cuted; let diſpatch be uſed, and the "heir protected in all his rights." Confiſcation, therefore, had never been thought of, nor his power to make a will diſputed.

I will now ſhow how I have been deprived of this valuable inheritance, while I have been obliged to pay above ſixty thouſand florins to defray legacies he had left; and when this narrative is read, it will no longer be affirmed, at Vienna, that, by the favours of the court, I inherited ſeventy-

ſix

venty-ſix thouſand florins, or the lordſhip of Zwerbach from Trenck. I ſhall proceed to my proofs.

The father of baron Trenck, who died in the year 1743, governor of Leitſchau in Hungary, named me in his will the ſucceſſor of his ſon, ſhould he die without heirs male.

This will was ſent to be proved, according to form, at Vienna, after having been authenticated in the moſt legal manner in Hungary. The court called Hofkriegſrath, at Vienna, neglected to provide a curator, for the ſecurity of the next heir; yet this could not annul my right of ſucceſſion. When Trenck ſucceeded his father, he entered no proteſt to this his father's will; therefore, dying without children, in the year 1749, my claim was indiſputable. I was heir, had he made no will: and even in caſe of confiſcation, my title to his father's eſtates ſtill remained valid.

Trenck knew this but too well: he, as I have before related, was my worſt enemy,

and even attempted my life. I will, therefore, proceed to ſhow the real intent of this his crafty teſtament.

Determined no longer to live in confinement, or to aſk forgiveneſs, by which, it is well known, he might have obtained his freedom, having loſt all hopes of reimburſing his loſſes, his avarice was reduced to deſpair. His deſire of fame was unbounded; and this could no way now be gratified but by having himſelf canoniſed for a ſaint, after ſpending his life in committing all the ravages of a pandour. Hence originated the following facts.

He knew I was the legal claimant to his father's eſtates. His father had bought, with the family money, remitted from Pruſſia, the lordſhips of Preſtowacz and Pleternitz, in Sclavonia; and he himſelf, during his father's life, and with his father's money, had purchaſed the lordſhip of Pakratz, for forty thouſand florins; this muſt therefore deſcend alſo to me, he having no more power to will this from me than he had the

remainder

remainder of his paternal inheritance. The property he himſelf had gained was conſigned to adminiſtrators; but a hundred thouſand florins had been expended in lawſuits, and ſixty-three ſuits continued actually pending againſt him in court: the legacies he bequeathed amounted to eighty thouſand florins. Theſe he ſaw could not be paid, ſhould I claim nothing more than the paternal inheritance; he therefore, to render me unfortunate after his death, craftily named me his univerſal heir, without mentioning his father's will, but endeavoured, by his myſterious death, and the following conditions, to enforce the execution of his own will.

Firſt, I was to become a catholic.

Secondly, I was to ſerve only the houſe of Auſtria; and,

Laſtly, he made his whole eſtate, without excepting the paternal inheritance, a *fidei commiſſum*.

Hence aroſe all my misfortunes, as indeed was his intention; for, but a ſhort time before his death, he ſaid to the governor, baron Kottulinſky, " I ſhall now

" die contented, ſince I have been able " to trick my couſin, and render him " wretched."

His death, believed in Vienna to be miraculous, happened after the following manner; and by this he induced many weak people, who really believed him a ſaint, to further his views.

Three days before his death, while in perfect health, he deſired the governor of the Spielberg would ſend for his confeſſor, for that St. Francis had revealed to him he ſhould be removed into life everlaſting on his birth day at twelve o'clock. The capuchin was ſent for, but the prediction laughed at.

The day, however, after the departure of his confeſſor, he ſaid, " Praiſe be to " God! my end approaches; my confeſſor " is dead, and has appeared to me." Strange as it may ſeem, it was actually found to be true that the prieſt was dead. He now had all the officers of the garriſon of Brunn aſſembled, tonſured his head like a capuchin, took the habit of the order,

publicly confeſſed himſelf in a ſermon of an hour's length, exhorted them all to holineſs, acted the part of a moſt exemplary penitent, embraced all preſent, ſpoke with a ſmile of inſignificance of all earthly poſſeſſions, took his leave, knelt down to prayers, ſlept calmly, roſe, prayed again, and about eleven in the forenoon, October 4th, taking his watch in his hand, ſaid, "Thanks be to my God! my laſt hour "approaches." All laughed at ſuch a farce from a man of ſuch a character; yet they remarked that the left ſide of his face grew pale. He then leaned his arm on the table, prayed, and remained motionleſs, with his eyes cloſed. The clock ſtruck twelve—no ſigns of life or motion could be diſcovered; they ſpoke to him, and found he was really dead.

The word miracle was echoed through the whole country, and the tranſmigration of the pandour Trenck, from earth to heaven, by St. Francis, proclaimed. The clue to this labyrinth of miracles, known only to me, is truly as follows:

He poſſeſſed the ſecret of what is called the *aqua toffana*, and had determined on death. His confeſſor had been entruſted with all his ſecrets, and with promiſſory notes, which he wiſhed to invalidate. I am perfectly certain that he had returned a promiſſory note of a great prince, given for two hundred thouſand florins, which has never been brought to account. The confeſſor, therefore, was to be provided for, that Trenck might not be betrayed, and a doſe of poiſon was given him before he ſet off for Vienna: his death was the conſequence. He took ſimilar means with himſelf, and thus he knew the hour of his exit: finding he could not become the firſt on earth, he wiſhed to be adored as a ſaint in heaven. He knew he ſhould work miracles when dead, becauſe he ordered a chapel to be built, willed a perpetual maſs, and bequeathed the capuchins ſixty thouſand florins.

Thus died this moſt extraordinary man, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, to whom Nature had denied none of her gifts; who had

had been the ſcourge of Bavaria; the terror of France; and who had, with his ſuppoſed contemptible pandours, taken above ſix thouſand Pruſſian priſoners. He lived a tyrant and enemy of men, and died a ſanctified impoſtor.

Such was the ſtate of affairs, as willed by Trenck, when I came to Vienna, in 1750, where I arrived with money and jewels to the amount of twenty thouſand florins.

Inſtead of profiting by the wealth Trenck had acquired, I expended a hundred and twenty thouſand florins of my own money, including what devolved to me from my uncle, his father, in the proſecution of his ſuits. Trenck had paid two hundred ducats to the tribunal of Vienna, in the year 1743, to procure its very reprehenſible ſilence concerning a curator, to which I was ſacrificed, as the new judges of this court refuſed to correct the error of their predeceſſors. Such are the proceedings of courts of juſtice in Vienna.

On my firſt audience, no one could be

received more kindly than I was by the empreſs-queen. She ſpoke of my deceaſed couſin with much emotion and eſteem, promiſed me all grace and favour, and informed me of the particular recommendations ſhe had received on my behalf, from count Bernes. Finding ſixty-three cauſes hang over my head, in conſequence of the inheritance of Trenck, to obtain juſtice in any one of which, at Vienna, would have employed the whole life of an honeſt man, I determined to renounce this inheritance, and claim only under the will, and as the heir of my uncle.

With this view I applied for, and obtained, a copy of that will, with which I perſonally appeared, and declared to the court that I renounced the inheritance of Francis Trenck, would undertake none of his ſuits, nor be reſponſible for his legacies, and required only his father's eſtates, according to the legal will, which I produced; that is to ſay, the three lordſhips of Pakratz, Preſtowacz, and Pleternitz, without chattels or perſonal effects. Nothing could be

more

more juſt or incontrovertible than this claim. What was my aſtoniſhment, to be told, in open court, that her majeſty had declared I muſt either wholly perform the articles of the will of Trenck, or be excluded the entire inheritance, and have nothing further to hope. What could be done? I ventured to remonſtrate, but the will of the court was determined and abſolute; I muſt become a Roman-catholic.

In this extremity I bribed a prieſt, who gave me a ſigned atteſtation, "That I had "abjured the accurſed hereſy of Luther-"aniſm." My religion, however, remained what it had ever been. General Bernes, about this time, returned from his embaſſy, and I related to him the lamentable ſtate in which I found my affairs. He ſpoke to the empreſs in my behalf, and ſhe promiſed every thing. He adviſed me to have patience, to perform all that was required of me, and to make myſelf reſponſible for depending ſuits. Some family concerns obliged him, as he informed me, to make a journey to Turin, but his return

would be ſpeedy, he would then take the management of my affairs upon himſelf, and enſure my good fortune in Auſtria. Bernes loved me as his ſon, and I had reaſon to hope, from his aſſurance, I ſhould be largely remembered in his will; which was the more probable, as he had neither child nor relations. He parted from me, like a father, with tears in his eyes; but he had ſcarcely been abſent ſix weeks before the news arrived of his death, which, if report may be credited, was effected by poiſon, adminiſtered by *a friend*. Ever the ſport of fortune, thus were my ſupporters ſnatched from me, at the very moment they became moſt neceſſary.

The ſame year was I, likewiſe, deprived by death of my friend and protector, field-marſhal Konigſeck, governor of Vienna, when he had determined to intereſt himſelf in my behalf. I have been beloved by the greateſt men Auſtria has produced; but, unfortunately, have been perſecuted by the chicanery of pettifoggers, fools, fanatics, and prieſts, who have deprived

prived me of the favour of my empreſs, guiltleſs as I was of crime or deceit, and left my old age in poverty.

My ills were increaſed by a new accident. Soon after the departure of Bernes, the Pruſſian miniſter taking me aſide, in the houſe of the Palatine envoy, M. Becker, propoſed my return to Berlin, aſſured me the king had forgotten all that was paſt, was convinced of my innocence, that my good fortune would there be certain, and he pledged his honour to recover the inheritance of Trenck. I anſwered, the favour came too late; I had ſuffered injuſtice too flagrant, in my own country, and that I would truſt no prince on earth, whoſe will might annihilate all the rights of men. My good faith to the king had been to ill repaid; my talents might gain me bread in any part of the world; and I would not again ſubject myſelf to the danger of unmerited impriſonment.

His perſuaſions were ſtrong, but ineffectual: "My dear Trenck," ſaid he, "God is my judge that my intentions are

" honeſt; I will pledge myſelf that my ſo-
" vereign will enſure your fortune: you
" do not know Vienna, you will loſe all
" by the ſuits in which you are involved,
" and you will be perſecuted, becauſe you
" do not carry a roſary."

How often have I repented I did not then return to Berlin! I ſhould have eſcaped ten years' impriſonment; ſhould have recovered the eſtates of Trenck; ſhould not have waſted the prime of life in the litigation of ſuits, and the writing of memorials; and ſhould have certainly been ranked among the firſt men in my native country. Vienna was no place for a man who could not fawn and flatter; yet here was I deſtined to remain ſix and thirty years, unrewarded, unemployed, and, through youth and age, to continue on the liſt of invalid majors.

Having rejected the propoſition of the Pruſſian envoy, all my hopes in Vienna were ruined; for Frederic, by his reſidents emiſſaries, knew how to effect whatever he pleaſed in foreign courts, and determined

that

that the Trenck, who would no longer ſerve, or confide in him, ſhould, at leaſt, find no opportunity of ſerving againſt him: I ſoon became painted to the empreſs as an arch heretic, who never would be faithful to the houſe of Auſtria, and only endeavoured to obtain the inheritance of Trenck, that he might devote himſelf to Pruſſia. This I ſhall hereafter prove, and diſplay a ſcene that ſhall be the diſgrace of many, by whom the empreſs was induced to harbour unjuſt ſuſpicions of an able and honeſt man. I here ſtand erect and confident before the world, publiſh the truth, and take everlaſting ſhame to myſelf, if any man on earth can prove me guilty of one treacherous thought. I owe no thanks; for ſo far from having received favours, I have ſix and thirty years remained unable to obtain juſtice, though I have all the while been deſirous of ſhedding my blood in defence of the monarchy where I have thus been treated. Till the year 1746, I was equally zealous and faithful to Pruſſia, yet my eſtates there, though confiſcated,

were

were liable to recovery; in Hungary, on the contrary, the ſentence of confiſcation is irrevocable. This is a remarkable proof in favour of my honour, and my children's claims.

Surely no reader will be offended at theſe digreſſions: my mind is agitated, my feelings rouſed, remembering that my age and grey hairs deprive me of the ſweet hope of, at length, vanquiſhing oppoſition, either by patience, or forcing juſtice, by eminent ſervices, or noble efforts.

This my hiſtory will never reach a monarch's eye, conſequently no monarch, by perceiving, will be induced to protect truth. It may, indeed, be criticiſed by literati; it will certainly be decried by my perſecutors, who, through life, have been my falſe accuſers, and will probably, therefore, be prohibited by the prieſts.—All Germany, however, will read, and poſterity, perhaps, may pity, ſhould my book eſcape the misfortune of being claſſed among improbable romances; to which it is the more liable, becauſe that the biographers of Frederic

and

and Maria Thereſa, for manifeſt reaſons, have never ſo much as mentioned the name of Trenck.

Once more to my ſtory: I was now obliged to declare myſelf heir, but always *cum reſervatione juris mei*; not as ſimply claiming under the will of Francis Trenck. I was obliged to take upon myſelf the management of the ſixty-three ſuits; and the expences attending upon any one of theſe are well known to thoſe acquainted with Vienna. My ſituation may be imagined, when I inform the reader I only received, from the whole eſtate of Trenck, 3600 florins, in three years; which were ſcarcely ſufficient to defray the expences of new year's gifts to the ſolicitors and maſters in chancery. How did I labour in ſtating and tranſcribing proofs for the court! The money I poſſeſſed ſoon vaniſhed. My Pruſſian relations ſupported me, and the counteſs Beſtuchef ſent me the four thouſand rubles I had refuſed at Peterſburg. I had alſo remittances from my faithful miſtreſs in Pruſſia; and, in addition, was

obliged

obliged to borrow money, at the uſurious rate of ſixty per cent. Bewildered as I was, among lawyers and knaves, my ambition ſtill prompted me to proceed, and all things are poſſible to labour and perſeverance; but my property was expended, and, at length, I could only obtain that the conteſted eſtates ſhould be made a *fidei commiſſum*, or put under truſt, whereby, though they were protected from being the further prey of others, I did not inherit them as mine. In this purſuit was my prime of life waſted, which might have been profitably and honourably ſpent.

In three years, however, I brought my ſixty-three ſuits to a kind of concluſion; the probabilities were, this could not have been effected in fifty. Excluſive of my aſſiduity, the means I took muſt not be told; it is ſufficient that I here learnt what judges were, and thus am enabled to deſcribe them to others.

For a few ducats the preſident's ſervant uſed to admit me into a cloſet, where I could ſee every thing as perfectly as if I had

myſelf

myſelf been of the council. This often was uſeful, and taught me to prevent evil; and often was I ſcarcely able to refrain burſting in upon this court.

Their appointed hour of meeting was nine in the morning, but they ſeldom aſſembled before eleven. The preſident then told his beads, and muttered his prayers. Some one got up and harangued, while the remainder, in pairs, amuſed themſelves with talking inſtead of liſtening; after which the news of the day became the common topic of converſation, and the council broke up, the court being firſt adjourned ſome three weeks, without coming to any determination.—This was called *Judicium delegatum in cauſis Trenckianis*; and when, at laſt, they came to a concluſion, the ſentence was ſuch as I ſhall ever ſhudder at and abhor.

The real eſtates of Trenck conſiſted in the great Sclavonian manors, called the lordſhips of Pakratz, Preſtowacz, and Pleternitz, which he had inherited from his father, and where the family property, together with Velika and Nuſtak, which he himſelf

himſelf purchaſed: the annual income of theſe was 60,000 florins, and they contained more than two hundred villages and hamlets. The laws of Hungary require,

1ſt, That thoſe who purchaſe eſtates ſhall obtain the *conſenſus regius* (royal conſent).

2d, That the ſeller ſhall poſſeſs, and make over the right of property, together with that of transferring, or alienating; and,

3dly, That the purchaſer ſhall be a native born, or have bought his naturaliſation.

In default of all, or any of theſe, the fiſcus, on the death of the purchaſer, takes poſſeſſion, repaying the *ſumma emptitia*, or purchaſe-money, together with what can be ſhown to have been laid out in improvements, or the *ſumma inſcriptitia*, the ſum at which it ſtands rated in the fiſcal regiſter.

Without form, or notice, the Hungarian fiſcal preſident, count Graſſalkowitz, took poſſeſſion of all the Trenck eſtates on his deceaſe, in the name of the fiſcus. The

prize

prize was great, not ſo much becauſe of the eſtates themſelves, as the perſonal property upon them. Trenck had ſent loads of merchandize to his eſtates, of linen, ingots of gold, and ſilver, from Bavaria, Alſatia, and Sileſia. He had a vaſt ſtore-houſe of arms, and of ſaddles; alſo the great ſilver ſervice of the emperor Charles VII. which he had brought from Munich, with the ſervice of plate of the king of Pruſſia; and the perſonal property on theſe eſtates was affirmed conſiderably to exceed in value the eſtates themſelves.

I was, not long ſince, informed, by one of the firſt generals, whoſe honour is undoubted, that ſeveral waggons were laden with theſe rich effects, and ſent to Mihaleſze. His teſtimony was indubitable; he knew the two pandours who were the confidants of Trenck, and the keepers of his treaſures; and theſe, during the general plunder, each ſeized a bag of pearls, and fled to Turkey, where they became wealthy merchants. His rich ſtuds of horſes were taken, and the very cows driven off the farms. His

ſtand

ſtand of arms conſiſted of more than three thouſand rare pieces. Trenck had affirmed he had ſent linen to the value of fifty thouſand florins, in cheſts, from Dannhauſen and Gerſdorf, in the county of Glatz, to his eſtates: the pillage was general, and when orders came to ſend all the property of Trenck, and deliver it to his univerſal heir, nothing remained that any perſon would accept. I have myſelf ſeen, in a certain Hungarian nobleman's houſe, ſome valuable arms, which I poſitively knew I had been robbed of; and I bought at Eſſeck ſome ſilver plates, on which were the arms of Pruſſia, that had been ſold by counſellor D—n, who had been empowered to take poſſeſſion of theſe eſtates, and had thus rendered himſelf rich. Of this I procured an atteſtation, and proved the theft: I complained aloud at Vienna, but received an order, from the court, to be ſilent, under pain of diſpleaſure, and alſo to go no more into Sclavonia. The principal reaſon of my loſs of the landed property in Hungary was my having dared to make inquiries concerning

cerning the perſonal, not one guinea of which was ever brought to account. I then proved my right to the family eſtates, left by my uncle, beyond all diſpute, and alſo of thoſe purchaſed by my couſin. The commiſſioners, appointed to inquire into theſe rights, even confirmed them; yet, after they had been thus eſtabliſhed, I received the following order from the court, in the hand of the empreſs herſelf: "The "preſident, count Graſſalkowitz, takes it "upon his conſcience that the Sclavonian "eſtates do not deſcend to Trenck, *in na-* "*tura*; he muſt, therefore, receive the "*ſumma emptitia et inſcriptitia*, together with "the money he can ſhow to have been ex- "pended in improvements."

And herewith ended my pleadings and my hopes. I had ſacrificed my property, laboured through ſixty-three inferior ſuits, and loſt this great cauſe without a trial. I could have remained ſatisfied with the loſs of the perſonal property: the booty of a ſoldier, like the wealth amaſſed by a miniſter, appears to me little better than a public robbery;

robbery; but the acquirements of my anceſtors, my birth-right by deſcent, of theſe I could not be deprived without exceſſive cruelty. Oh patience! patience!——— Yet ſhall my children never become the footmen nor grooms of thoſe who have robbed them of their inheritance; and to them I bequeath my rights in all their power: nor ſhall any man prevent my crying aloud, ſo long as juſtice ſhall not be done.

The preſident, it is true, did not immediately poſſeſs himſelf of the eſtates, but he took good care his friends ſhould have them at ſuch rates, that the ſale of them did not bring the fiſcal treaſury 150,000 dollars, while I, in real and perſonal property, loſt a million and a half; nay, probably, a ſum equal to this in perſonal property alone.

The *ſumma inſcriptitia et emptitia*, for all theſe great eſtates, only amounted to 149,000 florins, and this was to be paid by the chamber; but the preſident thought proper to deduct 10,000, on pretence the cattle had been driven off the eſtate of Pakratz; and further, 36,000 more, under

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the ſhameful pretence that Trenck, to recruit his pandours, had drained the eſtates of 3600 vaſſals, who had never returned; the eſtates, therefore, muſt make them good, at the rate of thirty florins per head, which would have amounted to 108,000: but, with much difficulty, this ſum was reduced, as above ſtated, to 36,000 florins; each vaſſal reckoned at ten florins per head. Thus was I obliged, from the property of my family, to pay for 3600 men, who had glorioufly died in war, in defence of the conteſted rights of the great Maria Thereſa; who had raiſed ſo many millions of contributions for her in the countries of her enemies; who, ſword in hand, had ſtormed and taken ſo many towns, and diſperſed, or taken priſoners, ſo many thouſands of her foes. Would this be believed by liſtening nations?

All deductions made for legacies, fees, and formalities, there remained to me 63,000 florins, with which I purchaſed the lordſhip of Zwerbach; and I was obliged to pay 6000 florins for my naturaliſation. Thus, when

when the ſums enumerated which I expended on the ſuits of Trenck, received from my friends at Berlin and Peterſburg, it will be found that I cannot, at leaſt, have been a gainer by having been made the univerſal heir of the immenſely rich Trenck. With regret I write theſe truths, in ſupport of my children's claims, that they may not, in my grave, reproach me for having neglected the duty of a father.

I will here add a few particulars, which may afford the reader matter for meditation, cauſe him to commiſerate my fate, and give a picture of the manner in which the proſecution was carried on againſt Trenck.

One Schygrai, a ſilly kind of beggarly baron, who was treated as a buffoon, was invited, in the year 1743, to dine with baron Pejaczewitz, when Trenck happened to be preſent. The converſation happened to turn on a kind of brandy made in this country; and Trenck jocularly ſaid, he annually diſtilled this ſort of brandy, from cow-dung, to the value of thirty thouſand florins. Schygrai ſuppoſed him ſerious, and

wiſhed to learn the art, which Trenck promiſed to teach him. Pejaczewitz told him he could give him thirty thouſand load of dung. "But where ſhall I get the wood?" ſaid Schygrai. "I will give you thirty "thouſand klafters," anſwered Trenck. The credulous baron, thinking himſelf very fortunate, deſired written promiſes, which they gave him; and that of Trenck ran thus: "I hereby permit and empower ba- "ron Schygrai to fell, gratis, in the foreſt "of Tſcherra Horra, thirty thouſand klaf- "ters of wood. Witneſs my hand,

"Trenck."

Trenck was no ſooner dead than the baron brought this note, and made application to the court. His attorney was the noted Buſſy, and the court decreed the eſtates of Trenck ſhould pay at the rate of one florin thirty kreutzers per klafter, or forty-five thouſand florins, with all coſts; and an order was given to the adminiſtrators to pay the money.

Juſt at this time I arrived at Vienna, from Peterſburg. Doctor Berger, the ad-

vocate of Trenck, told me the affair would admit of no delay. I haſtened to the empreſs, and obtained an order to delay payment. An enquiry was inſtituted, and this foreſt of Tſcherra Horra was found to be ſituated in Turkey. The abſurdity and injuſtice were flagrant, and it was revoked. I cannot ſay how much of theſe forty-five thouſand florins the baron had promiſed to the noble judge and the attorney. I only know that neither of them was puniſhed. Had not ſome holidays, luckily, intervened, or had the attorney expected my arrival, the money would have been paid, and an ineffectual attempt to obtain retribution would have been the conſequence; as happened in many ſimilar inſtances.

I have before mentioned the advertiſement inviting all who had any demands or complaints againſt Trenck to appear, with the promiſe of a ducat a day; and it is here proper to add, that the ſum of fifteen thouſand florins was brought to account, and paid out of the eſtates of Trenck. For this ſhameful purpoſe ſome thouſands of florins were

were paid, beſide, to this ſpecies of claimants; and though, after examination, their pretenſions all proved to be futile, and themſelves were caſt in damages, yet was none of this money ever refunded, or the falſe claimants puniſhed. Among theſe the pretended daughter of general Schwerin received two thouſand florins, notorious as was her character. Again: Trenck was accuſed of having appropriated the money of the regiment to his own uſe, and treated as if convicted. After his death a conſiderable demand was accordingly made. I happening, however, to meet with Ruckhardt, his quarter-maſter, he with aſſervations declared that, inſtead of being indebted to his regiment, his regiment was more than a hundred thouſand florins indebted to him, adviſed me to get atteſtations from the captains, and aſſured me he himſelf would give in a clear ſtatement of the regiment's accounts.

I followed his advice, haſtened to the regiment, and obtained ſo many proofs, that the quarter-maſter of the regiment, who, in concurrence with the major, had, in

 reality,

reality, pocketed the money, was impriſoned, and put in irons. What became of the thief, or the falſe witneſs, afterward, I know not: I only know that nothing was refunded, that the quarter-maſter found protectors, detained the money, and, ſome years after this vile action, purchaſed a commiſſion. One inſtance more.

Trenck, to the corps of infantry he commanded, added a corps of huſſars, which he raiſed, and provided with horſes and accoutrements at his own expence. Theſe huſſars were diſbanded after his death, and the horſes and accoutrements ſold by auction. My demand, on this account, was upwards of ſixty thouſand florins; to which I received neither money nor reply. He had, alſo, expended a hundred thouſand florins for the raiſing and equipping his three thouſand pandours; in conſequence of which a ſigned agreement had been given him by government, that theſe hundred thouſand florins ſhould be repaid to his heir, or, he the heir, ſhould receive the command of the regiment. The regiment, however, at his

deceaſe,

deceaſe, was given to general Simſchen; and, as for the agreement, care was taken it ſhould never come into my hands. Thus theſe hundred thouſand florins were loſt.

Yet it has been wickedly affirmed he was impriſoned in the Spielberg for having embezzled the regiment's money; whereas, I would to God I only was in poſſeſſion of the ſums he expended on this regiment; but he conſidered the regiment as his own, and, great as was his avarice, ſtill greater was his deſire of fame, and greater ſtill his love for his empreſs, for whom he would gladly have yielded both property and life.

With reſpect to the money that was to have been repaid for improvement of the eſtates, I muſt add, theſe eſtates were bought at a time when the country had been left deſolate by the Turks, and the reinſtatement of ſuch places as had fallen into their hands, and the erecting of farm-houſes, mills, ſtocking them with horſes, cattle, and ſeed corn, according to my poor eſtimate, could not amount to leſs than eighty

thouſand florins; but I was forbidden to go into Sclavonia, and the preſident offered, as an indemnification, four thouſand florins. —Every body was aſtoniſhed; but he, with with the utmoſt coolneſs, told me, I muſt either accept this or nothing. The hearers of this ſentence caſt their eyes up to heaven, and pitied me. I remonſtrated, and thereby only made the matter worſe. Grief and anxiety occaſioned me to take a journey into Italy, paſſing through Venice, Rome, and Florence.

On my return to Vienna, I, by a friendly interference in behalf of a woman, whoſe fears, rather than guilt, had brought her into danger, became ſuſpected myſelf; and the very officious officers of the police had me impriſoned, as a coiner, without the leaſt grounds for any ſuch accuſation, except their own ſurmiſes. I was detained, unheard, nine days; and when, having been heard, I had entirely juſtified myſelf, was again reſtored to liberty: public declaration was then made, in the Gazette, that

the officers of the police had acted too precipitately.

This was the ſatisfaction granted; but this did not content me. I threatened the counſellor by whom my character had been ſo aſperſed; and the empreſs, condeſcending to mediate, beſtowed on me a captainſhip of cavalry, in the Cordova cuiraſſiers.

Such was the recompence I received for wounds ſo deep, and ſuch the neglect into which I was thrown at Vienna. Diſcontent led me to join my regiment in Hungary.

Here I gained the applauſe of my colonel, count Bettoni, who himſelf told the empreſs, I, more than any other, had contributed to the forming of the regiment. It may well be imagined how a man like me, accuſtomed, as I had been, to the firſt company of the firſt courts, muſt paſs my time among the Carpathian mountains, where neither ſociety nor good books were to be found, nor knowledge, of which I was enamoured, improved. The conver-

ſation of count Bettoni, and the chace, together with the love of the general of the regiment, old field-marſhal Cordova, were my only reſources; the perſecutions, neglect, and even contempt, I received at Vienna, were ſtill the ſame.

In the year 1754, and the month of March, my mother died in Pruſſia, and I requeſted permiſſion of the court that held the inheritance of Trenck, as a *fidei commiſſum*, to make a journey to Dantzic, to ſettle ſome family affairs with my brothers and ſiſter, my eſtates being confiſcated. This permiſſion was granted, and thither I went in May, where I, once more, fell into the hands of the Pruſſians; which forms the ſecond great, and ſtill more gloomy epocha in my life. All who read what follows will ſhudder, will commiſerate him, who, feeling himſelf innocent, relates afflictions he has miſerably encountered, and glorioufly overcome.

I left Hungary, where I was in garriſon, for Dantzic, where I had deſired my brothers and ſiſter to meet me, that we might

ſettle

ſettle our affairs. My principal intent, however, was a journey to Peterſburgh, there to ſeek the advice and aid of my friends, for law and perſecution were not yet ended at Vienna; and my captain's pay, and ſmall income, were ſcarcely ſufficient to defray charges of attornies and counſellors.

It is here moſt worthy of remark, that I was told, by prince Ferdinand of Brunſwic, governor of Magdeburg, he had received orders to prepare my priſon at Magdeburg, before I ſet out from Hungary.

Nay more, it had been written, from Vienna to Berlin, that the king muſt beware of Trenck, for that he would be at Dantzic at the time when the king was to viſit his camp in Pruſſia.

What thing more vile, what contrivance more abominable, could the wickedeſt wretch on earth find to baniſh a man his country, that he might ſecurely enjoy the property of which the other had been robbed!—That this was done, I have living witneſſes in his highneſs prince Ferdinand of

Brunſwic, and the Berlin miniſtry; from whoſe mouths I learned this artifice of villainy. It is the more neceſſary to eſtabliſh this truth, becauſe that no one can comprehend why the *Great Frederic* ſhould have proceeded againſt me in a manner ſo cruel as, when it comes to be related, muſt raiſe the indignation of the juſt, and move hearts of iron to commiſerate.

Men ſo vile, ſo wicked, as I have deſcribed them, in conjunction with one Weingarten, ſecretary to count Puebla, then Auſtrian miniſter at Berlin, have brought on me theſe my misfortunes.

This was the Weingarten who, as is now well known, betrayed all the ſecrets of the Auſtrian court to Frederic, who at length was diſcovered in the year 1756, and who, when the war broke out, remained in the ſervice of Pruſſia. This ſame Weingarten, alſo, not only cauſed my wretchedneſs, but my ſiſter's ruin and death; as he likewiſe did the puniſhment and death of three innocent men; which will hereafter be ſhown.

It is an incontrovertible truth that I was betrayed

betrayed and ſold by men in Vienna, whoſe intereſt it was that I ſhould be eternally ſilenced.

I was immediately viſited, by my brothers and ſiſter, on my arrival at Dantzic, where we lived happy in each other's company, during a fortnight; and an amicable partition was made of my mother's effects: my ſiſter perfectly juſtified herſelf concerning the manner in which I was obliged to fly from her houſe, in the year 1746: our parting was kind, and as brother and ſiſter ought to part.

Our only acquaintance in Dantzic was the Auſtrian reſident, M. Abramſon, to whom I brought letters of recommendation from Vienna, and whoſe reception of us was polite even to extravagance.

This Abramſon was a Pruſſian born, and had never ſeen Vienna, but obtained his then office by the recommendation of count Beſtuchef, without ſecurity for his good conduct, or proof of his good morals, heart, or head. He was in cloſe connexion with the Pruſſian reſident, Reimer; and was made the inſtrument of my ruin.

Scarcely had my brothers and ſiſter departed, before I determined to make a voyage by ſea to Ruſſia. Abramſon contrived a thouſand artifices, by which he detained me a week longer in Dantzic, that he, in conjunction with Reimer, might make the neceſſary preparations.

The king of Pruſſia had demanded that the magiſtrates of Dantzic ſhould deliver me up; but this could not be done without offending the imperial court, I being a commiſſioned officer in that ſervice, with proper paſſports: it was therefore probable that this negotiation required letters ſhould paſs and repaſs, and for this reaſon; Abramſon was employed to detain me ſome days longer, till, by the laſt letters from Berlin, the magiſtrates of Dantzic were induced to violate public ſafety, and the laws of nations. Abramſon I conſidered as my beſt friend, and my perſon as in perfect ſecurity; he had therefore no difficulty in perſuading me to ſtay.

The day of ſuppoſed departure, on board a Swediſh ſhip for Riga, approached; and the deceitful Abramſon promiſed me to ſend

one of his ſervants to the port, to know the hour. At four in the afternoon he told me he had himſelf ſpoken to the captain, who ſaid he ſhould not ſail till the next day; adding that he, Abramſon, would expect me to breakfaſt, and would then accompany me to the veſſel. I felt a ſecret inquietude, which made me deſirous of leaving Dantzic, and immediately to ſend all my baggage, and ſleep on board. Abramſon prevented me, dragged me almoſt forcibly along with him, telling me he had much company, and that I muſt abſolutely dine and ſup at his houſe: accordingly I did not return to my inn till eleven at night.

I was but juſt in bed, when I heard a knocking at my door, which was not ſhut, and two of the city magiſtrates, with twenty grenadiers, entered my chamber, and ſurrounded my bed ſo ſuddenly that I had not time to take to my arms and defend myſelf. My three ſervants had been ſecured; and I was told that the moſt worthy magiſtracy of Dantzic was obliged to deliver me up, as a delinquent, to his majeſty the king of Pruſſia.

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What were my feelings at ſeeing myſelf thus betrayed!—They ſilently conducted me to the city priſon, where I remained twenty-four hours. About noon Abramſon came to viſit me, affected to be infinitely concerned and enraged, and affirmed he had ſtrongly proteſted againſt the illegality of this proceeding to the magiſtracy, as I was actually in the Auſtrian ſervice; but that they had anſwered him, the court of Vienna had afforded them a precedent, for that, in 1752, they had done the ſame by the two ſons of the burgomaſter Ruttenberg of Dantzic, and that, therefore, they were juſtified in making repriſal; that, likewiſe, they durſt not refuſe the moſt earneſt requeſt, accompanied with threats, of the king of Pruſſia.

Their plea of retaliation originated as follows: There was a kind of club at Vienna, the members of which were ſeized for having committed the utmoſt extravagance and debauchery; two of whom were the ſons of the burgomaſter Ruttenberg, and who were ſentenced to the pillory. Great ſums were offered, by the father, to avoid this

public diſgrace, but ineffectually; they were puniſhed; their puniſhment was legal, and had no ſimilarity whatever to my caſe, nor could it any way juſtly give pretence of repriſal.

Abramſon, who had in reality entered no proteſt whatever, but rather excited the magiſtracy, and acted in concert with Reimer, adviſed me to put my writings and other valuable effects into his hands, otherwiſe they would be ſeized. He knew I had received, in letters of exchange, from my brothers and ſiſter, about ſeven thouſand florins; and theſe I gave him, but kept my ring, worth about four thouſand and ſome ſixty guineas, which I had in my purſe. He then embraced me, declared nothing ſhould be neglected to effect my immediate deliverance, that even he would raiſe the populace for that purpoſe, that I could not be given up to the Pruſſians in leſs than a week, the magiſtracy being ſtill undetermined in an affair ſo ſerious; and he left me, ſhedding abundance of crocodile tears, like the moſt affectionate of friends.

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The next night two magiſtrates, with their poſſe, came to my priſon, attended by reſident Reimer, a Pruſſian officer, and under-officers; and into their hands I was delivered.—The pillage inſtantly began: Reimer tore off my ring, ſeized my watch, ſnuff-box, and all I had, not ſo much as ſending me a coat, or ſhirt, from my effects; after which they put me into a cloſe coach, with three Pruſſians. The Dantzic guard accompanied the carriage to the city gate, that was opened to let me paſs, after which the Dantzic dragoons eſcorted me as far as Lauenburg, in Pomerania.

I have forgotten the date of this miſerable day; but, to the beſt of my memory, it muſt have been in the beginning of June. Thirty Pruſſian huſſars, commanded by a lieutenant, relieved the dragoons at Lauenburg; and thus was I eſcorted, from garriſon to garriſon, till I arrived at Berlin.

Hence it was evidently falſely affirmed, by the magiſtracy of Dantzic, and the conſpirator Abramſon, who wrote in his own excuſe to Vienna, that my ſeizure muſt be attributed

attributed wholly to my own imprudence, and that I had expoſed myſelf to this arreſt by going without the city gates, where I was taken and carried off: nor is it leſs aſtoniſhing that the court of Vienna ſhould not have demanded ſatisfaction for the treachery of the Dantzickers toward an Auſtrian officer. I have incontrovertibly proved this treachery, after I had regained my liberty. Abramſon, indeed, they could not puniſh; for during my impriſonment he had quitted the Auſtrian for the Pruſſian ſervice, where he had gradually become ſo contemptible, that, in the year 1764, when I was releaſed from my impriſonment, he was himſelf impriſoned in the houſe of correction; and his wife, lately ſo rich, was obliged to beg her bread. Thus have I generally lived to ſee the fall of my betrayers; and thus have I found that, without indulging perſonal revenge, virtue and fortitude muſt at length triumph over the calumniator and the deſpot.

This truth will be further proved hereafter; nor can I behold, unmoved, the open ſhame in which my perſecutors live, and

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how they tremble in my preſence, their wicked deeds now being known to the world.—Nay, monarchs may yet puniſh their perfidy:—Yet not ſo!—May they rather die in poſſeſſion of wealth they have torn from me! I only wiſh the pity and reſpect of the virtuous and the wiſe.

But, though Auſtria has never reſented the affront committed on the perſon of an officer in its ſervice, ſtill have I a claim on the city of Dantzic, where I was thus treacherouſly delivered up, for the effects I there was robbed of; the amount of which is between eleven and twelve thouſand florins. This is a caſe too clear to require argument; and the publication of this hiſtory will make it known to the world. This claim alſo, among others, I leave to the children of an unfortunate father.

Enough of digreſſion; let us attend to the remarkable events which happened on this diſmal journey to Berlin. I was eſcorted from garriſon to garriſon, which were diſtant from each other, two, three, or, at moſt, five miles: wherever I came I found compaſſion

paſſion and reſpect. The detachment of huſſars only attended me two days: it conſiſted of twelve men, and an officer, who rode with me in the carriage.

The fourth day I arrived at ——, where the duke of Wirtemberg, father of the preſent grand-ducheſs of Ruſſia, was commander, and where his regiment was in quarters. The duke converſed with me, was much moved, invited me to dine, and detained me all the day; where I was not treated as a priſoner. I ſo far gained his eſteem, that I was allowed to remain there the next day: the chief perſons of the place were aſſembled, and the ducheſs, whom he had lately married, teſtified every mark of pity and eſteem. I ſtaid dinner with him alſo on the third day; after which I departed in an open carriage, without eſcort, attended only by a lieutenant of his regiment.

I muſt relate this event circumſtantially; for it not only proves the juſt and noble character of the duke, but likewiſe that there are moments in which the brave may appear cowards, the clear-ſighted blind, and

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the wife fooliſh; nay, one might almoſt be led to conclude, from this, that my impriſonment at Magdeburg was the conſequence of predeſtination, ſince I remained rivetted in ſtupor, in deſpite of ſuggeſtions, forebodings, and favourable opportunities. Who but muſt be aſtoniſhed, having read the daring efforts I made at Glatz, at this ſtrange inſenſibility now in the very criſis of my fate? I afterward was convinced it was the intention of the noble-minded duke that I ſhould eſcape, and that he muſt have given particular orders to the ſucceſſive officers. He would probably have willingly ſubjected himſelf to the reprimands of Frederic, if I would have taken to flight. The journey, through the places where his regiment was ſtationed, continued five days; and I every-where paſſed the evenings in the company of the officers, the kindneſs of whom was unbounded. I ſlept in their quarters without centinel, and travelled in their carriages without other guard than a ſingle officer in the carriage. In various places the high road was not more than two, and

ſometimes

ſometimes one mile from the frontier-road, therefore nothing could have been eaſier than to have eſcaped; yet did the ſame Trenck, who in Glatz had cut his way through thirty men to obtain his freedom,—that Trenck, who had never been acquainted with fear, now remain four days bewildered, and unable to come to any determination.

In a ſmall garriſon town I lodged in the houſe of a captain of cavalry, and continually was treated by him with every mark of friendſhip. After dinner, he rode at the head of his ſquadron to water the horſe, unſaddled. I remained alone in the houſe; entered the ſtable, ſaw three remaining horſes, with ſaddles and bridles: in my chamber was a ſword, and a pair of piſtols. I had but to mount one of the horſes, and fly at the oppoſite gate. I meditated on the project, and almoſt reſolved to put it in execution, but preſently became undetermined, by ſome ſecret impulſe. The captain returned ſometime after, and appeared ſurpriſed to find me ſtill there. The next day he accompanied me alone in his carriage; we came to a foreſt; he ſaw ſome cham-

champignons, ſtopped, aſked me to alight, and help him to gather them; he ſtrayed more than a hundred paces from me, and gave me entire liberty to fly; yet, notwithſtanding all this, I voluntarily returned, ſuffering myſelf to be led, like a ſheep to the ſlaughter.

I was treated ſo well, and eſcorted with ſo much negligence, that I fell into a groſs error. Perceiving they conveyed me ſtraight to Berlin, I imagined the king wiſhed to queſtion me concerning the plan formed for the war, which was then on the point of breaking out. This plan I perfectly knew, the ſecret correſpondence of Beſtuchef having all paſſed through my hands, which circumſtance was much better known at Berlin than at Vienna. Confirmed in this opinion, and far from imagining the fate that awaited me, I remained irreſolute, inſenſible, and blind to danger. Alas, how ſhort was this hope! How quickly was it ſucceeded by deſpair, when, after four days march, I quitted the diſtrict under the command of the duke of Wirtemberg, and

was

was delivered up to the firſt garriſon of infantry at Coſlin! The laſt of the Wirtemberg officers, when taking leave of me, appeared to be greatly affected; and from this moment, till I came to Berlin, I was put under a ſtrong eſcort, and the given orders were rigorouſly obſerved.

Arrived here, I was lodged over the grand guard-houſe, with two centinels in my chamber, and one at the door. The king was at Potſdam, and here I remained three days; on the third, ſome ſtaff officers made their appearance, ſeated themſelves at a table, and put the following queſtions to me:

Firſt, What was my buſineſs at Dantzic?

Secondly, Whether I was acquainted with M. Goltz, the Pruſſian ambaſſador in Ruſſia?

Thirdly, Who was concerned with me in the conſpiracy at Dantzic?

When I perceived their intention, by theſe interrogations, I abſolutely refuſed to reply, only ſaying I had been impriſoned in the fortreſs of Glatz, without hearing, or trial, by court-

court-martial; that, availing myſelf of the laws of nature, I had, by my own exertions, procured my liberty, and that I was now a captain of cavalry in the Imperial ſervice; that I demanded a legal trial for my firſt unknown offence, after which I engaged to anſwer all interrogatories, and prove my innocence; but that, at preſent, being accuſed of new crimes, without a hearing concerning my former puniſhment, the procedure was illegal. I was told they had no orders concerning this, and I remained dumb to all further queſtions.

They wrote, ſome two hours, God knows what! A carriage came up; I was ſtrictly ſearched, to find whether I had any weapons: thirteen or fourteen ducats, which I had concealed, were taken from me, and I was conducted, under a ſtrong eſcort, through Spandau to Magdeburg. The officer here delivered me up to the captain of the guard at the citadel: the town-major came, and brought me to the dungeon, expreſsly prepared for me; a ſmall picture of the counteſs of Beſtuchef, ſet with diamonds,

monds, which I had kept concealed in my boſom, was now taken from me; the door was ſhut, and here was I left.

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My dungeon was in a caſemate, the fore part of which, ſix feet wide, and ten feet long, was divided by a party wall. In the inner wall were two doors, and a third at the entrance of the caſemate itſelf. The window in the ſeven-feet-thick wall was ſo ſituated, that, though I had light, I could ſee neither heaven nor earth; I could only ſee the roof of the magazine: within and without this window were iron bars, and in the ſpace between an iron grating, ſo cloſe, and ſo ſituated, by the riſing of the walls, that it was impoſſible I ſhould ſee any perſon without the priſon, or that any perſon ſhould ſee me. On the outſide was a wooden paliſado, ſix feet from the wall, by which the centinels were prevented from conveying any thing to me. I had a mattreſs, and a bedſtead, but which was immoveably ironed

to the floor, ſo that it was impoſſible I ſhould drag it and ſtand up to the window; beſide the door was a ſmall iron ſtove and a night table, in like manner fixed to the floor. I was not yet put in irons, and my allowance was a pound and a half per day ammunition bread, and a jug of water.

From my youth I had always had a good appetite, and my bread was ſo mouldy I could ſcarcely at firſt eat the half of it. This was the conſequence of Major Rieding's avarice, who endeavoured to profit even by this, ſo great was the number of unfortunate priſoners; therefore, it is impoſſible I ſhould deſcribe to my readers the exceſs of tortures that, during eleven months, I felt from ravenous hunger. I could eaſily every day have devoured ſix pounds of bread; and every twenty-four hours after, having received and ſwallowed my ſmall portion, I continued as hungry as before I began, yet muſt wait another twenty-four hours for a new morſel. How willingly would I have ſigned a bill of exchange for a thouſand ducats, on my property at Vienna, only to

have

have ſatiated my hunger on dry bread! For, ſo extreme was it, that, ſcarcely had I dropt into a ſweet ſleep, before I dreamed I was feaſting at ſome table luxuriouſly loaded, where, eating like a glutton, the whole company were aſtoniſhed to ſee me, while my imagination was heated by the ſenſation of famine. Awakened by the pains of hunger, the diſhes vaniſhed, and nothing remained but the reality of my diſtreſs; the cravings of nature were but inflamed, tortures prevented ſleep, and, looking into futurity, the cruelty of my fate ſuffered, if poſſible, increaſe, from imagining that the prolongation of pangs like theſe was unſupportable. God preſerve every honeſt man from ſufferings like mine! They were not to be endured by the villain moſt obdurate. Many have faſted three days, many have ſuffered want for a week, or more, but certainly no one, beſide myſelf, ever endured it in the ſame exceſs for eleven months. Some have ſuppoſed that to eat little might become habitual, but I have experienced the contrary. My hunger increaſed every day,

and, of all the trials of fortitude my whole life has afforded, this, of eleven months, was the moſt bitter.

Petitions, remonſtrances, were of no vail; the anſwer was—" We muſt give no more; ſuch is the king's command." The governor-general Borck, born the enemy man, replied, when I entreated, at leaſt, have my fill of bread, " You have feaſted often enough out of the ſervice of plate taken from the king, by Trenck, at the battle of Sorau; you muſt now eat ammunition-bread in your dirty kennel. Our empreſs makes no allowance for your maintenance, and you are unworthy " of the bread you eat, or the trouble taken " about you." Judge, reader, what pangs ſuch inſolence, added to ſuch ſufferings, muſt inflict. Judge what were my thoughts, foreſeeing, as I did, an endleſs duration to this impriſonment and theſe torments.

My three doors were kept ever ſhut, and I was left to ſuch meditations as ſuch feelings, and ſuch hopes, might inſpire. Daily, about noon, once in twenty-four hours, my

pittance

pittance of bread and water was brought. The keys of all the doors were kept by the governor; the inner door was not opened, but my bread and water were delivered through an aperture. The priſon-doors were opened only once a week, on a Wedneſday, when the governor and town-major, my hole having been firſt cleaned, paid their viſit.

Having remained thus two months, and obſerved this method was invariable, I began to execute a project I had formed, of the poſſibility of which I was convinced.

Where the night-table and ſtove ſtood, the floor was bricked, and this paving extended to the wall that ſeparated my caſemate from the adjoining one, in which was no priſoner. My window was only guarded by a ſingle centinel; I therefore ſoon found among thoſe who ſucceſſively relieved guard, two kind-hearted fellows, who deſcribed to me the ſituation of my priſon; hence I perceived I might effect my eſcape, could I but penetrate into the adjoining caſemate, the door of which was not ſhut. Provided

I had a friend, and a boat waiting for me at the Elbe, or, could I ſwim acroſs that river, the confines of Saxony were but a mile diſtant.

To deſcribe my plan at length would lead to prolixity, yet I muſt enumerate ſome of its circumſtances, as it was remarkably intricate, and of gigantic labour.

I worked through the iron, eighteen inches long, by which the night table was faſtened, and broke off the clinchings of the nails, but preſerved their heads, that I might put them again in their places, and all might appear ſecure to my weekly viſitors. This procured me tools to raiſe up the brick floor, under which I found earth. My firſt attempt was to work a hole through the wall, ſeven feet thick, behind, and concealed by the night-table. The firſt layer was of brick. I afterwards came to large hewn ſtones. I endeavoured accurately to number and remember the bricks, both of the flooring and the wall, ſo that I might replace them, and all might appear ſafe. This having accompliſhed, I proceeded.

The

The day preceding viſitation, all was carefully replaced, and the intervening mortar as carefully preſerved; the whole had, probably, been whitewaſhed a hundred times; and, that I might fill up all remaining interſtices, I pounded the white ſtuff this afforded, wetted it, and made a bruſh of my hair, then applied this plaſter, waſhed it over, that the colour might be uniform, and afterward ſtripped myſelf, and ſat with my naked body againſt the place, by the heat of which it was dried.

While labouring, I placed the ſtones and bricks upon my bedſtead, and, had they taken the precaution to come at any other time in the week, the ſtated Wedneſday excepted, I had inevitably been diſcovered; but as no ſuch ill accident befel me, in ſix months my Herculean labours gave me a proſpect of ſucceſs.

Means were to be found to remove the rubbiſh from my priſon; all of which, in a wall ſo thick, it was impoſſible to replace: mortar and ſtone could not be removed. I therefore took the earth, ſcattered it about

my chamber, and ground it under my feet the whole day, till I had reduced it to duſt; this duſt I ſtrewed in the aperture of my window, making uſe of the looſened night table to ſtand upon. I tied ſplinters from my bedſtead together, with the ravelled yarn of an old ſtocking, and to this affixed a tuft of my hair. I worked a large hole under the middle grating, which could not be ſeen when ſtanding on the ground, and through this I puſhed my duſt with the tool I had prepared to the outer window, then, waiting till the wind ſhould happen to riſe, during the night I bruſhed it away, it was blown off, and no appearance remained on the outſide. By this ſingle expedient I rid myſelf of at leaſt three hundred weight of earth, and thus made room to continue my labours: yet, this being ſtill inſufficient, I had recourſe to another artifice, which was, to knead up the earth in the form of ſauſages, to reſemble the human fæces: theſe I dried, and, when the priſoner came to clean my dungeon, haſtily toſſed them into the night-table, and thus diſencumbered myſelf of a

pound

pound or two more of earth each week. I further made little balls, and, when the centinel was walking, blew them, through a paper tube, out of the window. Into the empty ſpace I put my mortar and ſtones, and worked on ſucceſsfully.

I cannot, however, deſcribe my difficulties, after having penetrated about two feet into the hewn ſtone. My tools were the irons I had dug out, which faſtened my bedſtead and night table. A compaſſionate ſoldier alſo gave me an old iron ramrod, and a ſoldier's ſheath-knife, which did me excellent ſervice; more eſpecially the latter, as I ſhall preſently more fully ſhow. With theſe two I cut ſplinſters from my bedſtead, which aided me to pick the mortar from the interſtices of the ſtone: yet the labour of penetrating through this ſeven-feet wall was incredible: the building was ancient, and the mortar occaſionally quite petrified, ſo that the whole ſtone was obliged to be reduced to duſt. After continuing my work, unremittingly, for ſix months, I at length approached the accompliſhment of my hopes, as I

knew, by coming to the facing of brick, which now was only between me and the adjoining caſemate.

Meantime I found opportunity to ſpeak to ſome of the centinels; among whom was an old grenadier, called Gefhardt, whom I here name, becauſe he diſplayed qualities of the greateſt and moſt noble kind. From him I learned the preciſe ſituation of my priſon, and every circumſtance that might beſt conduce to my eſcape.

Nothing was wanting but money to buy a boat, and croſſing the Elbe with Gefhardt, to take refuge in Saxony. By Gefhardt's means I became acquainted with a kind-hearted girl, a Jeweſs, and a native of Deſſau, Eſther Heymannin by name, and whoſe father had been ten years in priſon. This good, compaſſionate maiden, whom I had never ſeen, won over two other grenadiers, who gave her an opportunity of ſpeaking to me every time they ſtood centinel. By tying my ſplinters together, I made a ſtick long enough to reach beyond the paliſadoes that were before my window, and

thus

thus obtained paper, another knife, and a file.

I now wrote to my ſiſter, the wife of the before-mentioned only ſon of general Waldow, deſcribed my ſituation, and entreated her to remit three hundred rix-dollars to the Jeweſs; hoping, by this means, I might eſcape from my priſon. I wrote another affecting letter to count Puebla, the Auſtrian ambaſſador at Berlin, in which was incloſed a draft for a thouſand florins on my effects at Vienna, deſiring him to remit theſe to the Jeweſs, having promiſed her that ſum as a reward for her fidelity. She was to bring the three hundred rix-dollars my ſiſter ſhould ſend to me, and take meaſures, with the grenadiers, to facilitate my flight, which nothing ſeemed able to prevent, I having the power either to break into the caſemate, or, aided by the grenadiers and the Jeweſs, to cut the locks from the doors, and that way eſcape from my dungeon. The letters were open, I being obliged to roll them round the ſtick to convey them to Eſther.

The faithful girl diligently proceeded to

Berlin, where ſhe arrived ſafe, and immediately ſpoke to count Puebla. The count gave her the kindeſt reception, received the letter, with the letter of exchange, and bade her go and ſpeak to Weingarten, the ſecretary of the embaſſy, and act entirely as he ſhould direct. She was received by Weingarten in the moſt friendly manner, who, by his queſtions, drew from her the whole ſecret, and our intended plan of flight, aided by the two grenadiers; and alſo that ſhe had a letter for my ſiſter, which ſhe muſt carry to Hammer, near Cuſtrin. He aſked to ſee this letter, read it, told her to proceed on her journey, gave her two ducats to bear her expences, ordered her to come to him on her return, ſaid that, during this interval, he would endeavour to obtain her the thouſand florins for my draft, and would then give her further inſtructions.

Eſther cheerfully departed for Hammer, where my ſiſter, then a widow, and no longer, as in 1746, in dread of her huſband, joyful to hear I was ſtill living, immediately gave her the three hundred rix-dollars, exhorting

horting her to exert every poſſible means to obtain my deliverance. Eſther haſtened back, with the letter from my ſiſter to me, to Berlin, and told all that had paſſed to Weingarten, who read the letter, and inquired the names of the two grenadiers. He told her the thouſand florins from Vienna were not yet come; but gave her twelve ducats, bade her haſten back to Magdeburg, to carry me all this good news, and then return to Berlin, where he would pay her the thouſand florins. Eſther came to Magdeburg, went immediately to the citadel, and, moſt luckily, met the wife of one of the grenadiers, who told her that her huſband and his comrade had been taken, and put in irons the day before. Eſther had quickneſs of perception, and ſuſpected we had been betrayed; ſhe therefore inſtantly again began her travels, and happily came ſafe to Deſſau.

Here I muſt interrupt my narrative, that I may explain this infernal enigma to my readers; an account of which I received after I had obtained my freedom, and ſtill poſſeſs, in the hand-writing of this Jeweſs.

Weingarten,

Weingarten, as was afterwards diſcovered, was a traitor, and too much truſted by count Puebla; he being a ſpy in the pay of Pruſſia, and one who had revealed to the court of Berlin not only the ſecrets of the imperial embaſſy, but alſo the whole plan of the projected war. For this reaſon, he afterward, when war broke out, remained at Berlin in the Pruſſian ſervice. His reaſon for betraying me was that he might ſecure the thouſand florins which I had drawn for on Vienna; for the receipt of the 24th of May, 1755, atteſts that the ſum was paid, by the adminiſtrators of my effects, to count Puebla, and has ſince been brought to account; nor can I believe that Weingarten did not appropriate this ſum to himſelf, ſince I cannot be perſuaded the ambaſſador would commit ſuch an action, although the receipt is in his hand-writing, as may eaſily be demonſtrated, it being now in my poſſeſſion. Thus did Weingarten, that he might detain a thouſand florins with impunity, bring new evils upon me and upon my ſiſter, which occaſioned her premature death; cauſed one

grenadier

grenadier to run the gauntlet three ſucceſſive days, and another to be hung.

Eſther alone eſcaped, and ſince gave me an elucidation of the whole affair. The report at Magdeburg was that a Jeweſs had obtained money from my ſiſter, and bribed two grenadiers; and that one of theſe had truſted, and been betrayed by his comrade. Indeed, what other ſtory could be told at Magdeburg, or how could it be known I had been betrayed to the Pruſſian miniſtry by the imperial ſecretary? The truth, however, is as I have ſtated; my account-book exiſts, and the Jeweſs is ſtill alive.

Her poor impriſoned father was puniſhed with more than a hundred blows, to make him declare whether his daughter had intruſted him with the plot, or if he knew whither ſhe was fled, and miſerably died in fetters. Such was the miſchief occaſioned by a raſcal! And who might be blamed but the imprudent count Puebla?

In the year 1766 the Jeweſs demanded of me a thouſand florins; and I wrote to count Puebla, that, having his receipt for

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the ſum, which never had been repaid, I begged it might be reſtored. He received my agent with rudeneſs, returned no anſwer, and ſeemed to trouble himſelf little concerning my loſs. Whether the heirs of the count be, or be not, indebted to me theſe thouſand florins, and the intereſt, I leave the world to determine. Thrice have I been betrayed at Vienna, and ſold to Berlin, like Joſeph to the Egyptians. My hiſtory proves the origin of my misfortunes was the perſuaſion that reſidents, envoys, and ambaſſadors muſt be men of known worth and honeſty, and not the vileſt of raſcals and miſcreants. But, alas! the effects and money they have robbed me of have never been reſtored; and for the miſeries they have brought upon me they could not be recompenſed by the wealth of any or all the monarchs on earth. Eſtates they may, but truth they cannot, confiſcate; and of the villainy of Abramſon and Weingarten I have documents and proofs that no court of juſtice could diſannul.—Stop, reader, if thou haſt a heart, and in that heart compaſſion! Stop, and imagine what my

ſenſations are, while I remember and recount a part only of the injuſtice that has been done me, a part only of the tyranny I have endured! By this laſt act of treachery of Weingarten, was I held in chains, the moſt horrible, for nine ſucceeding years! By him was an innocent man brought to the gallows! By him, too, my ſiſter, my beloved, my unfortunate ſiſter, was obliged to build a dungeon for me, at her own expence! beſide being amerced in a fine, the extent of which I never could learn. Her goods were plundered, her eſtates made a deſert, her children fell into extreme poverty, and ſhe herſelf expired, in her thirty-third year, the victim of cruelty, perſecution, her brother's misfortunes, and the treachery of the imperial embaſſy!

Bleſſed ſhade of a beloved ſiſter!—The ſacrifice of my adverſe and dreadful fate! Thee could I never avenge! Thee could the blood of Weingarten never appeaſe! No aſylum, however ſacred, ſhould have ſecured him, had he not ſought that laſt of aſylums for human wickedneſs and human woes, the grave!

grave! To thee do I dedicate theſe few pages, a tribute of thankfulneſs; and, if future rewards there are, may the brighteſt of theſe rewards be thine! For us, not for ours, may rewards be expected from monarchs, who in apathy have beheld our mortal ſufferings. Reſt, noble ſoul, murdered, though thou wert, by the enemies of thy brother! Again my blood boils, again the tears roll down my cheeks, when I remember thee, thy ſufferings in my cauſe, and thy untimely end! I knew it not—I ſought to thank thee—I found thee in the grave—I would have made retribution to thy children; but unjuſt, iron-hearted princes had deprived me of the power.—Can the virtuous heart conceive affliction more cruel? My own ills I would have endured with magnanimity; but thine are wrongs I have neither the power to forget nor heal.

Enough of this——

The worthy emperor, Francis I. ſhed tears, when I afterward had the honour of relating to him, in perſon, my paſt miſeries; I beheld them flow, and gratitude threw me

at

at his feet. His emotion was ſo great, that he tore himſelf away! I left the palace with all that enthuſiaſm of ſoul which ſuch a ſcene muſt inſpire.

He probably would have done more than pitied me, but his death ſoon followed. I relate this incident to convince poſterity that Francis I. poſſeſſed a heart worthy an emperor, worthy of a man. In the knowledge I have had of monarchs, he ſtands alone. Frederic and Thereſa both died without doing me juſtice; I am now too old, too proud, have too much apathy, to expect it from their ſucceſſors. Petition I will not, knowing my rights; and juſtice from courts of law, however evident my claims, were, in theſe courts, vain indeed to expect.—Lawyers and advocates I know but too well, and an army to ſupport my rights I have not.

What heart that can feel but will pardon me theſe digreſſions! At the exact and ſimple recital of facts like theſe, the whole man muſt be rouſed, and the philoſopher himſelf ſhudder.

Once

Once more.—I heard nothing of what had happened for ſome days; at length, however, it was the honeſt Gefhardt's turn to mount guard; but the poſts being doubled, and two additional grenadiers placed before my door, explanation was exceedingly difficult. He, however, in ſpite of precaution, found means to inform me of what had happened to his two unfortunate comrades.

The king came to a review at Magdeburg, when he viſited the Star-Fort, and commanded a new cell to be immediately made, preſcribing himſelf the kind of irons by which I was to be ſecured. The honeſt Gefhardt heard the officer ſay this cell was meant for me, and gave me notice of it; but aſſured me it could not be ready in leſs than a month. I therefore determined, as ſoon as poſſible, to complete my breach in the wall, and eſcape without the aid of any one. The thing was poſſible; for I had twiſted the hair of my mattreſs into a rope, which I meant to tie to a cannon, and deſcend the rampart; after which I might

ſwim

ſwim acroſs the Elbe, gain the Saxon frontiers, and thus ſafely eſcape.

On the 26th of May I had determined to break into the next caſemate; but when I came to work at the bricks, I found them ſo hard, and ſtrongly cemented, that I was obliged to defer the labour to the following day. I left off, weary and ſpent, at day-break; and ſhould any one enter my dungeon, they muſt infallibly diſcover the breach. How dreadful is the deſtiny by which, through life, I have been perſecuted, and which has continually plunged me headlong into calamity, when I imagined happineſs was at hand!

The 27th of May was a cruel day in the hiſtory of my life. My cell in the Star-fort had been finiſhed ſooner than Gef hardt had ſuppoſed; and at night, when I was preparing to fly, I heard a carriage ſtop before my priſon. Oh, God! what was my terror! what were the horrors of this moment of deſpair! The locks and bolts reſounded, the doors flew open, and the laſt of my poor remaining reſources was to conceal

my

my knife. The town-major, the major of the day, and a captain entered; I ſaw them by the light of their two lanterns. The only words they ſpoke were, "Dreſs your-"ſelf;" which was immediately done. I ſtill wore the uniform of the regiment of Cordova. Irons were given me, which I was obliged myſelf to faſten on my wriſts and ancles: the town-major tied a bandage over my eyes, and, taking me under the arm, they thus conducted me to the carriage. It was neceſſary to paſs through the city to arrive at the Star-Fort: all was ſilent, except the noiſe of the eſcort; but when we entered Magdeburg, I heard the people running, who were crowding together to obtain a ſight of me. Their curioſity was raiſed, by the report that I was going to be beheaded. That I was executed on this occaſion, in the Star-Fort, after having been conducted blind-fold through the city, has ſince been both affirmed and written; and the officers had then orders to propagate this error, that the world might remain in utter ignorance concerning me. I indeed

knew otherwiſe, though I affected not to have this knowledge: and, as I was not gagged, I behaved as if I expected death, reproached my conductors in language that even made them ſhudder, and painted their king in his true colours, as one who, unheard, had condemned an innocent ſubject by a deſpotic exertion of power.

My fortitude was admired, at the moment when it was ſuppoſed I thought myſelf leading to execution. No one replied, but their ſighs intimated their compaſſion: certain it is, few Pruſſians willingly execute ſuch commands. The carriage at length ſtopped, and I was brought into my new cell. The bandage was taken from my eyes, The dungeon was lighted by a few torches. God of heaven!—what were my feelings, when I beheld the whole floor covered with chains, a fire-pan, and two grim men ſtanding with their ſmith-hammers?

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To work went theſe engines of deſpotiſm!—Enormous chains were fixed to my

ancle

ancle at one end, and at the other to a ring which was incorporated in the wall. This ring was three feet from the ground, and only allowed me to move about two or three feet to the right and left. They next rivetted another huge iron ring, of a hand's breadth, round my naked body; to which hung a chain fixed into an iron bar, as thick as a man's arm. This bar was two feet in length, and at each end of it was a handcuff, as repreſented in the plate. The iron collar round my neck was not added till the year 1756.

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No ſoul bade me good night—All retired in dreadful ſilence;—and I heard the horrible grating of four doors, that were ſucceſſively locked and bolted upon me!

Thus does man act by his fellow, knowing him to be innocent, having received the commands of another man ſo to act.

Oh God! thou alone knoweſt how my heart, void as it was of guilt, beat at this moment. There ſat I, deſtitute, alone, in thick

thick darkneſs, upon the bare earth, with a weight of fetters inſupportable to nature, thanking thee that theſe cruel men had not diſcovered my knife, by which my miſeries might yet find an end. Death is a laſt, certain refuge, that can, indeed, bid defiance to the rage of tyranny. What ſhall I ſay? How ſhall I make the reader feel as I then felt? How deſcribe my deſpondency, and yet account for that latent impulſe that withheld my hand on this fatal—this miſerable night?

This miſery I foreſaw was not of ſhort duration: I had heard of the wars that were lately broken out between Auſtria and Pruſſia. Patiently to wait their termination, amid ſufferings and wretchedneſs ſuch as mine, appeared impoſſible, and freedom even then was doubtful. Sad experience had I had then of Vienna, and well I knew that thoſe, who had deſpoiled me of my property, moſt anxiouſly would endeavour to prevent my return.—Such were my meditations! Such my night thoughts! Day at length returned—But where was its

ſplendor? Fled—I beheld it not—Yet was its glimmering obſcurity ſufficient to ſhow me what was my dungeon.

In breadth it was about eight feet; in length, ten. Near me once more ſtood a night-table; in a corner was a ſeat, four bricks broad, on which I might ſit, and recline againſt the wall. Oppoſite the ring to which I was faſtened, the light was admitted through a ſemicircular aperture, one foot high, and two in diameter. This aperture aſcended to the centre of the wall, which was ſix feet thick, and at the central part was a cloſe iron grating, from which, outward, the aperture deſcended, and its two extremities were again ſecured by ſtrong iron bars. My dungeon was built in the ditch of the fortification, and the aperture by which the light entered was ſo covered by the wall of the rampart, that, inſtead of finding immediate paſſage, the light only gained admiſſion by reflection. This, conſidering the ſmallneſs of the aperture, and the impediments of grating and iron bars, muſt needs make the obſcurity

great,

great, yet my eyes, in time, became ſo accuſtomed to this glimmering, that I could ſee a mouſe run. In winter, however, when the ſun did not ſhine into the ditch, it was eternal night with me. Between the bars and the grating was a glaſs window, with a ſmall central caſement, which might be opened to admit air. My night-table was daily removed, and beſide me ſtood a jug of water. The name of TRENCK was built in the wall, in red brick, and under my feet was a tomb-ſtone, with the name of TRENCK alſo cut on it, and carved with a death's head. The doors to my dungeon were double, of oak, two inches thick: without theſe was an open ſpace or front cell, in which was a window, and this ſpace was likewiſe ſhut in by double doors. The ditch, in which this dreadful den was built, was incloſed on both ſides by paliſadoes, twelve feet high, the key of the door of which was entruſted to the officer of the guard, it being the king's intention to prevent all poſſibility of ſpeech or communication with the

centinels. The only motion I had the power to make was that of jumping upward, or ſwinging my arms, to procure myſelf warmth. When more accuſtomed to theſe fetters, I was likewiſe capable of moving from ſide to ſide, about four feet, but this pained my ſhin-bones.

The cell had been finiſhed with lime and plaſter but eleven days, and every body ſuppoſed it would be impoſſible I ſhould exiſt in theſe damps above a fortnight. I remained ſix months, continually immerſed in water, that trickled upon me from the thick arches under which I was; and I can ſafely affirm that, for the firſt three months, I was never dry; yet did I continue in health. I was viſited daily, at noon, after relieving guard, and the doors were then obliged to be left open for ſome minutes, otherwiſe the dampneſs of the air put out their candles.

This was my ſituation, and here I ſat, deſtitute of friends, helpleſsly wretched, preyed on by all the torture of thought, that continually ſuggeſted the moſt gloomy,

the moſt dreadful of images. My heart was not yet wholly turned to ſtone, my fortitude was ſunken to deſpondency; my dungeon was the very cave of deſpair; yet was my arm reſtrained, yet was this exceſs of miſery endured.

How then may hope be wholly eradicated from the heart of man! My fortitude after ſome time began to revive; I glowed with the deſire of convincing the world I was capable of ſuffering what man had never ſuffered before, perhaps of at laſt emerging from this load of wretchedneſs, triumphant over my enemies. So long and ardently did my fancy dwell on this picture, that my mind at length acquired a heroiſm which Socrates himſelf certainly never poſſeſſed. Age had benumbed his ſenſe of pleaſure, and he drank the poiſonous draught with cool indifference; I was young, inured to high hopes, yet now beholding deliverance impoſſible, or at an immenſe, a dreadful diſtance. Such too were the ſufferings of ſoul and body, I could not hope they might be ſupported and live.

About noon my den was opened. Sorrow and compaſſion were painted on the countenances of my keepers. No one ſpoke: no one bade me good-morrow. Dreadful, indeed, was their arrival, for, unaccuſtomed to the monſtrous bolts and bars, they were kept reſounding for a full half hour, before ſuch ſoul-chilling, ſuch hope-murdering impediments were removed. It was the voice of tyranny that thundered!

My night-table was taken out, a camp-bed, mattreſs, and blankets, were brought me; a jug of water ſat down, and beſide it an ammunition-loaf of ſix pounds weight, "That you may no more complain of hun-"ger," ſaid the town-major, "you ſhall "have as much bread as you can eat." The door was ſhut, and I again left to my thoughts.

What a ſtrange thing is that called happineſs! How ſhall I expreſs my extreme joy, when, after eleven months of intolerable hunger, I was again indulged with a full feaſt of coarſe ammunition-bread! The fond lover never ruſhed more eagerly to the

the arms of his expecting bride, the famiſhed tiger more ravenouſly on his prey, than I upon this loaf; I ate, reſted, ſurveyed the precious morſel, ate again, and abſolutely ſhed tears of pleaſure——Breaking bit after bit, I had by evening devoured all my loaf.

Oh Nature! what delight haſt thou combined with the gratification of thy wants! Remember this, ye who gorge, ye who rack invention to excite appetite, and which yet you cannot procure; remember how ſimple are the means that will give a cruſt of mouldy bread a flavour more exquiſite than all the ſpices of the Eaſt, or all the profuſion of land or ſea; remember this, grow hungry, and indulge your ſenſuality.

Alas! my enjoyment was of ſhort duration. I ſoon found that exceſs is followed by pain and repentance. My faſting had weakened digeſtion, and rendered it inactive. My body ſwelled, my water-jug was emptied, cramps, cholics, and, at length, inordinate thirſt racked me all the night. I began to pour curſes on thoſe who ſeem-

ed to refine on torture, and, after ſtarving me ſo long, to invite me to gluttony. Could I not have reclined on my bed, I ſhould indeed have been driven, this night, to deſperation: yet even this was but a partial relief, for, not yet accuſtomed to my enormous fetters, I could not extend myſelf in them in the ſame manner I was afterward taught to do by habit. I dragged them, however, ſo together, as to enable me to ſit down on the bare mattreſs. This, of all my nights of ſuffering, ſtands foremoſt. When they opened my dungeon next day, they found me in a truly pitiable ſituation, wondered at my appetite, brought me another loaf; I refuſed to accept it, believing I never more ſhould have occaſion for bread; they, however, left me one, gave me water, ſhrugged up their ſhoulders, wiſhed me farewell, as, according to all appearance, they never expected to find me alive, and ſhut all the doors without aſking whether I wiſhed or needed farther aſſiſtance.

Three days had paſſed before I could

again eat a morſel of bread, and my mind brave in health, now, in a ſick body, became puſillanimous, ſo that I determined on death. The irons, every where round my body, and their weight, were inſupportable; nor could I imagine it was poſſible I ſhould habituate myſelf to them, or endure them long enough to expect deliverance. Peace was a very diſtant proſpect. The king had commanded that ſuch a priſon ſhould be built as ſhould exclude all neceſſity of a centinel, in order that I might not converſe with and ſeduce them from what is called their duty; and, in the firſt days of deſpair, deliverance appeared impoſſible; and the fetters, the war, the pain I felt the place, the length of time, each circumſtance ſeemed equally impoſſible to ſupport. A thouſand reaſons convinced me it was neceſſary to end my ſufferings. I ſhall not enter into theological diſputes: let thoſe who blame me imagine themſelves in my ſituation; or, rather, let them firſt actually endure my miſeries, and then let them reaſon. I had often braved death in proſperity, and at this moment it ſeemed a bleſſing.

Full of theſe meditations, every minute's patience appeared abſurdity, and reſolution meanneſs of ſoul, yet I wiſhed my mind ſhould be ſatisfied that reaſon, and not raſhneſs, had induced the act. I therefore determined, that I might examine the queſtion coolly, to wait a week longer, and die on the fourth of July. In the mean time I revolved in my mind what poſſible means there were of eſcape, not fearing, naked and chained, to ruſh and expire on the bayonets of my enemies,

The next day I obſerved, as the four doors were opened, that they were only of ood, therefore queſtioned whether I might even cut off the locks with the knife I had ſo fortunately concealed; and, ould this and every other means fail, then would be the time to die. I likewiſe determined to make an attempt even to free myſelf of my chains. I happily forced my right hand through the hand-cuff, though the blood trickled from my nails. My attempts on the left were long ineffectual: but, by rubbing with a brick, which I got from my

ſeat,

ſeat, on the rivet that had been negligently cloſed, I effected this alſo.

The chain was faſtened to the rim round my body, by a hook, one end of which was not inſerted in the rim; therefore, by ſetting my foot againſt the wall, I had ſtrength enough ſo far to bend this hook back, and open it, as to force out the link of the chain. The remaining difficulty was the chain that attached my foot to the wall: the links of this chain I took, doubled, twiſted, and wrenched, till, at length, nature having beſtowed on me great ſtrength, I made a deſperate effort, ſprang forcibly up, and two links at once flew off.

Fortunate, indeed, did I think myſelf; I haſtened to the door, groped in the dark to find the clinchings of the nails by which the lock was faſtened, and diſcovered no very large piece of wood need be cut. Immediately I went to work with my knife, and cut through the oak door, to find its thickneſs, which proved to be only one inch, therefore was it poſſible to open all the four doors in four and twenty hours.

Again hope revived in my heart. To prevent detection I haſtened to put on my chains; but, oh God! what difficulties had I to ſurmount! After much groping about, I at length found the link that had flown off; this I hid. It had been my good fortune hitherto to eſcape examination, as the poſſibility of ridding myſelf of ſuch chains was in no wiſe ſuſpected. The ſeparated links I tied together with my hair ribbon! but, when I again endeavoured to force my hand into the ring, it was ſo ſwelled that every effort was fruitleſs. The whole night was employed upon the rivet, but all labour was in vain.

Noon was the hour of viſitation, and neceſſity and danger again obliged me to attempt forcing my hand in, which at length, after excruciating torture, I effected. My viſitors came, and every thing had the appearance of order. I found it however, impoſſible to force out my right hand while it continued ſwelled.

I therefore remained quiet till the day fixed, and, on the determined fourth of

July,

July, immediately as my viſitors had cloſed the doors upon me, I diſencumbered myſelf of my irons, took my knife, and began my Herculean labour on the door. The firſt of the double doors that opened inwards was conquered in leſs than an hour; the other was a very different taſk. The lock was ſoon cut round, but it opened outwards; there were therefore no other means left, but to cut the whole door away above the bar.

Inceſſant and incredible labour made this poſſible, though it was the more difficult, as every thing was to be done by feeling, I being totally in the dark; the ſweat dropt, or rather flowed from my body; my fingers were clotted with my own blood, and my lacerated hands were one continued wound.

Day-light appeared, I clambered over the door that was half cut away, and got up to the window in the ſpace or cell that was between the double doors, as before deſcribed. Here I ſaw my dungeon was in the ditch of the firſt rampart: before me I beheld the road from the rampart, the guard but

fifty

fifty paces diſtant, and the high paliſadoes that were in the ditch, and muſt be ſcaled before I could reach the rampart. Hope grew ſtronger; my efforts were redoubled. The firſt of the next double doors was attacked, which likewiſe opened inward, and was ſoon conquered. The ſun ſet before I had ended this, and the fourth was to be cut away as the ſecond had been. My ſtrength failed; both my hands were raw: I reſted awhile, began again, and had made a cut of a foot long when my knife ſnapt, and the broken blade dropt to the ground.

* * * * * *

God of Omnipotence! what was I at this moment! Was there, God of Mercies! was there ever creature of thine more juſtified than I in deſpair?—The moon ſhone clear—I caſt a wild and diſtracted look up to heaven, fell on my knees, and, in the agony of my ſoul, ſought comfort; but no comfort could be found, nor religion, nor philoſophy had any to give.—I curſed not Providence, I feared not annihilation, I dared not Almighty vengeance; God the creator was the diſ-

poſer

poſer of my fate; and if he heaped afflictions upon me he had not given me ſtrength to ſupport, his juſtice would not therefore puniſh me. To him, the Judge of the quick and dead, I committed my ſoul, ſeized the broken knife, gaſhed through the veins of my left arm and foot, ſat myſelf tranquilly down, and ſaw the blood flow. Nature, overpowered, fainted, and I know not how long I remained ſlumbering in this ſtate—Suddenly I heard my own name, awoke, and again heard the words, "Baron Trenck!" My anſwer was, "Who calls?"—And who indeed was it—who but my honeſt grenadier Gef hardt—my former faithful friend in the citadel.——The good, the kind fellow had got upon the rampart, that he might comfort me.

"How do you do?" ſaid Gefhardt—"Weltering in my blood," anſwered I; "to-morrow you will find me dead."—— "Why ſhould you die?" replied he. "It "is much eaſier for you to eſcape here than "from the citadel. Here is no centinel, "and I ſhall ſoon find means to provide you

"with

" with tools: if you can only break out, " leave the reſt to me. As often as I am " on guard I will ſeek opportunity to ſpeak " to you. In the whole Star-Fort there are " but two centinels; the one at the entrance, " and the other at the guard-houſe.——Do " not deſpair, God will ſuccour you; truſt " to me."—The good man's kindneſs and diſcourſe revived my hopes: I ſaw the poſſibility of an eſcape. A ſecret joy diffuſed itſelf through my ſoul—I immediately tore my ſhirt, bound up my wounds, and waited the approach of day; and the ſun ſoon after ſhone through the window to me with unaccuſtomed brightneſs.

Let the reader judge how far it was chance, how far the effect of Divine Providence, that in this dreadful hour my heart again received hope. Who was it ſent the honeſt Gefhardt, at ſuch a moment, to my priſon? For, had it not been for him, I had certainly, when I awoke from my ſlumbers, cut more effectually through my arteries.

Till noon I had time to conſider what might farther be done: yet, what could be done,

done, what expected, but that I ſhould now be much more cruelly treated, and even more inſupportably ironed than before; finding, as they muſt, the doors cut through, and my fetters ſhaken off.

After mature conſideration, I, therefore, made the following reſolution; which ſucceeded happily, and even beyond my hopes. Before I proceed, however, I will ſpeak a few words concerning my ſituation at this moment. It is impoſſible to deſcribe how much I was exhauſted. The priſon ſwam with blood; and, certainly, but little was left in my body. With painful wounds, ſwelled and torn hands, I there ſtood, ſhirtleſs, felt an inclination to ſleep almoſt irreſiſtible, and ſcarcely had ſtrength to keep my legs; yet was I obliged to rouſe myſelf, that I might execute my plan.

With the bar that ſeparated my hands I looſened the bricks of my ſeat, which, being newly laid, was eaſily done, and heaped them up in the middle of my priſon. The inner door was quite open, and with my chains I ſo barricadoed the upper half

of

of the ſecond, as to prevent any one climbing over it. When noon came, and the firſt of the doors was unlocked, all were aſtoniſhed to find the ſecond open. There I ſtood, a deſperate man, beſmeared with blood, the picture of horror, with a brick in one hand, and in the other my broken knife, crying as they approached, "Keep "off, Mr. Major, keep off!——Tell the "governor I will live no longer in chains, "and that here I ſtand, if he ſo pleaſes, to "be ſhot; for ſo only will I be conquered. "Here no man ſhall enter—I will deſtroy "all that approach; here are my weapons, "here will I die in deſpite of tyranny." The major was terrified, wanted reſolution, and made his report to the governor. I, mean time, ſat down on my bricks, to wait what might happen; my ſecret intent, however, was not ſo deſperate as it appeared. I ſought only to obtain a favourable capitulation.

The governor, general Borck, preſently came, attended by the town-major, and ſome officers, and entered the outward cell, but

but ſprung back the moment he beheld a figure like me, ſtanding with a brick and uplifted arm. I repeated what I had told the major, and he immediately ordered ſix grenadiers to force the door. The front cell was ſcarcely ſix feet broad, ſo that no more than two at a time could attack my intrenchment; and when they ſaw my threatening bricks ready to deſcend, they leaped, terrified, back. A ſhort pauſe enſued, and the old town-major, with the chaplain, advanced toward the door to ſooth me: the converſation continued ſome time; whoſe reaſons were moſt ſatisfactory, and whoſe cauſe was the moſt juſt, I leave to the reader. The governor grew angry, and ordered a freſh attack. The firſt grenadier was knocked down, and the reſt ran back to avoid my miſſiles.

The town-major again began a parley. "For God's ſake, my dear Trenck," ſaid he, "in what have I injured you, "that you endeavour to effect my ruin? "I muſt anſwer for your having, through "my negligence, concealed a knife. Be

"perſuaded,

" perſuaded, I entreat you. Be appeaſed. " You are not without hope, not without " friends."—My anſwer was,—" But will " you not load me with heavier irons than " before?"

He went out, ſpoke with the governor, and gave me his word of honour that the affair ſhould be no farther noticed, and that every thing ſhould be exactly reinſtated as formerly.

Here ended the capitulation, and my wretched citadel was taken. The condition I was in was viewed with pity; my wounds were examined, a ſurgeon ſent to dreſs them, another ſhirt was given me, and the bricks, clotted with blood, removed. I meantime lay half dead on my mattreſs: my thirſt was exceſſive; the ſurgeon ordered me ſome wine; two centinels were ſtationed in the front cell, and I was thus left four days in peace, unironed. Broth alſo was given me daily; and how delicious this was to taſte, how much it revived and ſtrengthened me, is wholly impoſſible to deſcribe. Two days I lay in a

ſlumbering

ſlumbering kind of trance, forced, by unquenchable thirſt, to drink whenever I awoke. My feet and hands were ſwelled; the pains in my back and limbs were exceſſive.

On the fifth day the doors were ready; the inner was entirely plated with iron, and I was fettered as before: perhaps they found further cruelty unneceſſary. The principal chain, however, which faſtened me to the wall, like that I had before broken, was thicker than the firſt. Except this, the capitulation was ſtrictly kept. They deeply regretted that, without the king's expreſs commands, they could not lighten my afflictions; wiſhed me fortitude and patience, and barred up my doors.

It is neceſſary I ſhould here deſcribe my dreſs. My hands being fixed and kept aſunder, by an iron bar, and my feet chained to the wall, I could neither put on ſhirt or ſtockings in the uſual mode; the ſhirt was therefore tied, as repreſented in the plate, and changed once a fortnight; the coarſe ammunition ſtockings were buttoned on the ſides; a blue garment, of ſoldier's cloth,

was

was likewiſe tied round me, and I had a pair of ſlippers for my feet. The ſhirt was of the army linen; and when I contemplated myſelf in this dreſs of a malefactor, chained thus to the wall, in ſuch a dungeon, vainly imploring mercy or juſtice, my conſcience void of reproach, my heart of guilt; when I reflected on my former ſplendor in Berlin and Moſcow, and compared it with this ſad, this dreadful reverſe of deſtiny, I was ſunk in grief, or rouſed to indignation, that might have hurried the greateſt hero or philoſopher to madneſs or deſpair. I felt what can only be imagined by him who has ſuffered like me, after having like me flouriſhed, if ſuch can be found.

Pride, the juſtneſs of my cauſe, the unbounded confidence I had in my own reſolution, and the labours of an inventive head, and an iron body, theſe only could have preſerved my life. Theſe bodily labours, theſe continued inventions, and projected plans to obtain my freedom, preſerved my health. Who would ſuppoſe that a man, fettered as I was, could find means of exerciſing

ciſing himſelf? By ſwinging my arms, acting with the upper part of my body, and leaping upward, I frequently put myſelf in a ſtrong perſpiration. After thus wearying myſelf, I ſlept ſoundly, and often thought how many generals, obliged to ſupport all the inclemencies of weather, and all the dangers of the field—how many of thoſe who had plunged me into this den of miſery, would have been moſt glad, could they, like me, have ſlept with a quiet conſcience. Often did I reflect how much happier I was than thoſe tortured on the bed of ſickneſs, by gout, ſtone, and other diſeaſes, terrible to man. How much happier was I in innocence, than the malefactor doomed to ſuffer the pangs of death, the ignominy of men, and the horrors of internal guilt!

In the following part of my hiſtory it will appear I often had much money concealed under the ground, and in the walls of my den; yet would I have given a hundred ducats for a morſel of bread, it could not have been procured. Money

was to me uſeleſs. In this I reſembled the miſer who hoards, yet lives in wretchedneſs, having no joy in gentle acts of benevolence. As proudly might I delight myſelf with my hidden treaſure, as ſuch miſers; nay more, for I was ſecure from robbers.

Had faſtidious pomp been my pleaſure, I might have imagined myſelf ſome old field-marſhal bedridden, who hears two grenadier centinels at his door call "Who "goes there?" My honour, indeed, was ſtill greater, for, during my laſt year's impriſonment, my door was guarded with no leſs than four. My vanity alſo might have flattered itſelf; I hence might conclude how high was the value ſet upon my head, ſince all this trouble was taken to hold me in ſecurity. Certain it is that in my chains I thought more rationally, more nobly, reaſoned more philoſophically on man, his nature, his real, his imaginary wants, the effects of his ambition, his paſſions, and ſaw more diſtinctly his dream of earthly good, than thoſe who had impriſoned me,

me, or thoſe who guarded. I was void of the fears that haunt the paraſite who ſervilely wears the chains of a court, and daily trembles for the loſs of what vice and cunning have acquired. Thoſe who have uſurped my Sclavonian eſtates, and feaſted ſumptuouſly from the ſervice of plate I had been robbed of, never ate their dainties with ſo ſweet an appetite as I my ammunition bread, nor did their high-flavoured wines flow ſo limpid as my cold water.

Thus the man who thinks, being pure of heart, will find conſolation when under the moſt dreadful of calamities, convinced, as he muſt be, that thoſe apparently moſt are frequently leaſt happy, inſenſible as they are of the pleaſures they might enjoy. Evil never is ſo great as it appears.

" Sweet are the uſes of adverſity.
" Which, like the toad, ugly and venomous,
" Wears yet a precious jewel in its head."

*As You Like It.**

Happy

* The Baron has quoted a poem written and publiſhed by himſelf.

Happy he, who like me, having ſuffered, can become an example to his ſuffering brethren.

YOUTH, proſperous, and imagining proſperity eternal, read my hiſtory attentively, though I ſhould be in my grave! Read feelingly, and bleſs my ſleeping duſt, if it hath taught thee wiſdom or fortitude.

FATHER, reading this, ſay to thy children, I like them, in blooming youth, little propheſied of misfortune, which after fell thus heavy on me, and by which I am even ſtill perſecuted! Say that I had virtue, ambition, was educated in noble principles; that I laboured with all the zeal of enthuſiaſtic youth to become wiſer, better, greater than other men; that I was guilty of no crimes, was the friend of men, was no deceiver of man or woman; that I firſt

" Im uebel ſelbſt ſteckt noch ein kreiſs.
" Wenn man ihn nur zufinden weiſs."

The ſimilarity of the thought, which ſeems borrowed from Shakſpeare, juſtifies a quotation ſo beautiful.

ſerved

ſerved my own country faithfully, and, after, ever y oter in whic h I found bread; that I was never, during my life, once intoxicated; was no gameſter, no night rambler, no contemptible idler; that yet, through envy and arbitrary power, I have fallen to miſery, ſuch as none but the worſt of criminals ought to feel.

BROTHER, fly thoſe countries where the law-giver knows no law, where truth and virtue are puniſhed as crimes: and, if fly you cannot, be it your endeavour to remain unknown, unnoticed; in ſuch countries ſeek not favour or honourable employ, elſe will you become, when your merits are known, as I have been, the victim of ſlander and treachery; the beheſts of power will perſecute you, and innocence will not ſhield you from the ſhafts of wicked men, who are envious, or who wiſh to obtain the favour of princes, though by the worſt of means.

SIRE, imagine not thou readeſt a romance: my head is grey, like thine. Read, yet deſpiſe not the world, though it has

treated me thus unthankfully. Good men have I alſo fouud, who have befriended me in misfortune, and there, where leaſt I had claim, have I found them moſt. May my book aſſiſt thee in noble thoughts; mayſt thou die as tranquilly as I ſhall render up my ſoul to appear before the Judge of me and my perſecutors. Be death but thought, a tranſition from motion to reſt. Few are the delights of this world for him, who, like me, has learned to know it. Murmur not, deſpair not of Providence. Me, through ſtorms, it has brought to heaven; through many griefs, to ſelf-knowledge; and through priſons, to philoſophy. He only can tranquilly deſcend to annihilation, who finds reaſon not to repent he has once exiſted. My rudder broke not amid the rocks and quickſands, but my bark was caſt upon the ſtrand of knowledge. Yet, even on theſe clear ſhores, are impenetrable clouds. I have ſeen more diſtinctly than it is ſuppoſed men ought to ſee. Age will decay the faculties, and mental, like bodily ſight, muſt then decreaſe.

creaſe. I even grew weary of ſcience, and envied the blind-born, or thoſe who, till death, have been wilfully hood winked. How often have I been aſked, "What "didſt thou ſee?"—And when I anſwered with ſincerity and truth, how often have I been derided as a liar, and been perſecuted by thoſe who determined not to ſee themſelves, as an innovator, ſingular and raſh!

Sire, I farther ſay to thee, teach thy deſcendants to ſeek the golden mean, and ſay with Gellert—"The boy Fritz needs "nothing: his ſtupidity will enſure his "ſucceſs."—Examine our wealthy and titled lords, what their abilities are, and what their honours, then inquire how they were attained, and, if thou canſt, diſcover in what true happineſs conſiſts.

Once more to my priſon. The failure of my eſcape, and the recovery of life from this ſtate of deſpair, led me to moraliſe deeper than I had ever done before; and in this depth of thought I found unexpected conſolation and fortitude, and a

firm perſuaſion I yet ſhould accompliſh my deliverance.

Gefhardt, my honeſt grenadier, had infuſed freſh hope, and my mind now buſily began to meditate new plans. A centinel had been placed before my door, that I might be more narrowly watched, and the married men of the Pruſſian ſtates were appointed to this duty, who, as I ſhall hereafter ſhow, were more eaſy to perſuade in aiding my flight, than foreign fugitives. The Pomeranian will liſten, and is by nature kind, therefore may eaſily be moved, and induced to ſuccour diſtreſs.

I began to be more accuſtomed to my irons, which I had before found ſo inſupportable; I could comb out my long hair, and tie it at laſt with one hand. My beard, which had ſo long remained unſhaven, gave me a grim appearance, and I began to pluck it up by the roots. The pain, at firſt, was conſiderable, eſpecially round the lips; but this, alſo, cuſtom conquered, and I performed this operation in the following years, once in ſix weeks or two months;

months; as the hair thus plucked up required that length of time before the nails could again get hold. Vermin did not moleſt me; the dampneſs of my den was inimical to them. My limbs never ſwelled, becauſe of the exerciſe I gave myſelf, as before deſcribed. The greateſt pain I found was in the continued unvivifying dimneſs in which I lived.

I had read much; had lived in, and ſeen much of the world; vacuity of thought therefore I was little troubled with; the former tranſactions of my life, what had happened, and the remembrance of the perſons I had known, I revolved ſo often in my mind, that they became as familiar and connected as if the events had each been written in the order it occurred. Habit made this mental exerciſe ſo perfect to me, that I could compoſe ſpeeches, fables, odes, ſatires, all which I repeated aloud; and had ſo ſtored my memory with them, that I was enabled, after I had obtained my freedom, to commit to writing two volumes of theſe my priſon labours. Accuſtomed to

this exercise, days, that would otherwise have been days of misery, appeared but as moment. The following narrative will show how much esteem, how many friends, these compositions procured me, even in my dungeon, insomuch that I obtained light, paper, and, finally, freedom itself. For these have I to thank the industrious acquirements of my youth; therefore, do I counsel all my readers so to employ their time. Riches, honours, the favours of fortune, may be showered by monarchs upon the most worthless; but monarchs can give and take, say and unsay, raise and pull down. Monarchs, however, can neither give wisdom nor virtue. Arbitrary power itself, in the presence of these, is foiled.

How wisely has Providence ordained that the endowments of industry, learning, and science, given by ourselves, cannot be taken from us; while, on the contrary, what others bestow is a fantastical dream, from which any accident may awaken us! The wrath of Frederic could destroy legions, and defeat armies; but it could

could not take from me the ſenſe of honour, of innocence, and, their ſweet concomitant, peace of mind—could not deprive me of fortitude and magnanimity: I defied his power, reſted on the juſtice of my cauſe, found in myſelf expedients wherewith to oppoſe him, was at length crowned with conqueſt, and came forth to the world the martyr of ſuffering virtue.

Some of my oppreſſors now rot in dishonourable graves. Others, alas! in Vienna, remained immured in houſes of correction, as Krügel and Zetto, or beg their bread, like Gravenitz and Doo. Nor are the wealthy poſſeſſors of my eſtates more fortunate, but look down with ſhame whenever I and my children appear. We ſtand erect, eſteemed, and honoured, while their injuſtice is manifeſt to the whole world.

Young man, be induſtrious; for, without induſtry, can none of the treaſures I have deſcribed be purchaſed. Thy labour will reward itſelf; then, when aſſaulted by misfortune, or even miſery, learn of me, and ſmile; or, ſhouldeſt thou eſcape ſuch trials,

ſtill labour to acquire wiſdom, that in old age thou mayeſt find content and happineſs.

The years in my dungeon paſſed away as days, thoſe moments excepted when, thinking on the great world, and the deeds of great men, my ambition was rouſed: except when, contemplating the vileneſs of my chains, and the wretchedneſs of my ſituation, I laboured for liberty, and found my labours endleſs and ineffectual: except while I remember the triumph of my enemies, and the ſplendor in which thoſe, by whom I had been plundered, lived. Then, indeed, did I experience intervals that approached madneſs, deſpair, and horror: beholding myſelf deſtitute of friend or protector, the empreſs herſelf, for whoſe ſake I ſuffered, deſerting me; reflecting on paſt times and paſt proſperity; remembering how the good and virtuous, from the cruel nature of my puniſhment, muſt be obliged to conclude me a wretch and a villain, and that all means of juſtification were cut off; oh, God! how did my heart beat! with what

what violence! What would I not have undertaken, in theſe ſuffering moments, to have put my enemies to ſhame! Vengeance and rage then roſe rebellious againſt patience; long-ſuffering philoſophy vaniſhed, and the poiſoned cup of Socrates would have been the nectar of the gods.

Man deprived of hope is man deſtroyed. I found but little probability in all my plans and projects; yet did I truſt that ſome of them ſhould ſucceed; yet did I confide in them, in my honeſt Gefhardt, and that I ſhould ſtill free myſelf from my chains.

The greateſt of all my incitements to patient endurance was love. I had left behind me, in Vienna, a lady for whom the world ſtill was dear to me; her would I neither deſert nor afflict. To her and my ſiſter was my exiſtence ſtill neceſſary. For their ſakes, who had loſt and ſuffered ſo much for mine, would I preſerve my life: for them no difficulty, no ſuffering, was too great; yet them, alas! when long-deſired liberty was reſtored, I found both in their graves. The joy, for which I had

borne ſo much, was no more to be taſted.

About three weeks after my attempt to eſcape, the good Gefhardt firſt came to ſtand centinel over me; and the centinel they had ſo carefully ſet was indeed the only hope I could have of eſcape; for help muſt be had from without, or this was impoſſible.

The effort I had made had excited too much ſurpriſe and alarm for me to paſs without ſtrict examination; ſince, on the ninth day after I was confined, I had, in eighteen hours, ſo far broken through a priſon built purpoſely for myſelf, by a combination of ſo many projectors, and with ſuch extreme precaution, which priſon had univerſally been declared impenetrable.

Gefhardt ſcarcely had taken his poſt before we had free opportunity of converſing together; for when I ſtood with one foot on my bedſtead, I could reach the aperture through which light was admitted.

Gefhardt deſcribed the ſituation of my dungeon; and our firſt plan was to break under

under the foundation, which he had ſeen laid, and which he affirmed to be only two feet deep.

Money was the firſt thing neceſſary. Gefhardt was relieved during his guard, and returned bringing with him a ſheet of paper rolled on a wire, which he paſſed through my grating; as he alſo did a piece of ſmall wax-candle, ſome burning amadow (a kind of tinder), a match, and a pen. I now had light, and I pricked my finger, and wrote with my blood to my faithful friend, captain Ruckhardt, at Vienna, deſcribed my ſituation in a few words, ſent him an acquittance for three thouſand florins on my revenues, and requeſted he would diſpoſe of a thouſand florins to defray the expences of his journey to Gummern, only two miles from Magdeburg. Here he was poſitively to be on the 15th of Auguſt. About noon, on this ſame day, he was to walk, with a letter in his hand; and a man was there to meet him, carrying a roll of ſmoking tobacco, to whom he

he muſt remit the two thouſand florins, and return to Vienna.

I returned the written paper to Gefhardt by the ſame means it had been received, gave him my inſtructions, and he ſent his wife with it to Gummern, by whom it was ſafely put in the poſt.

My hopes daily roſe; and as often as Gefhardt mounted guard, ſo often did we continue our projects. The 15th of Auguſt came, but it was ſome days before Gefhardt was again on guard; and, oh! how did my heart palpitate when he came and exclaimed, "All is right! we have "ſucceeded!" He returned in the evening, and we began to conſider by what means he could convey the money to me. I could not, with my hands chained to an iron bar, reach the aperture of the window that admitted air; beſide that it was too ſmall. It was therefore agreed that Gefhardt ſhould, on the next guard, perform the office of cleaning my dungeon, and that he then ſhould convey the money to me in the water-jug.

This,

This, luckily, was done. How great was my aſtoniſhment when, inſtead of one, I found two thouſand florins! For I had permitted him to reſerve half to himſelf, as a reward for his fidelity. He, however, had kept but five piſtoles, which he perſiſted was enough.

Worthy Gefhardt! This was the act of a Pomeranian grenadier! How rare are ſuch examples! Be thy name and mine ever united. Live thou while the memory of me ſhall live. Never did my acquaintance with the great bring to my knowledge a ſoul ſo noble, ſo diſintereſted!

It is true I afterward prevailed on him to accept the whole thouſand: but we ſhall ſoon ſee he never had them, and that his fooliſh wife, three years after, ſuffered by their means; however, ſhe ſuffered alone, for he ſoon marched to the field, and therefore was unpuniſhed.

Having money to carry on my deſigns, I began to put my plan of burrowing under the foundation into execution. The firſt thing neceſſary was to free myſelf from my

fetters.

ſetters. To accompliſh this, Gefhardt ſupplied me with two ſmall files, and by the aid of theſe, this labour, though great, was effected.

The cap, or ſtaple of the foot-ring, was made ſo wide, that I could draw it forward a quarter of an inch. I filed the iron which paſſed through it on the inſide; and the more I filed this away, the farther I could draw the cap down, till at laſt the whole inſide iron, through which the chains paſſed, was quite cut through; by this means I could ſlip off the ring, while the cap on the outſide continued whole; and it was impoſſible to diſcover any cut, as only the outſide could be examined. My hands, by continued efforts, I ſo compreſſed, as to be able to draw them out of the hand-cuffs. I then filed the hinge, and made a ſcrew-driver of one of the foot-long flooring nails, by which I could take out the ſcrews at pleaſure, ſo that at the time of examination no proofs would appear. The rim round my body was but a ſmall impediment, except the chain, which paſſed from my hand-bar; and

this

this I removed, by filling an aperture in one of the links, which, at the neceſſary hour, I cloſed with bread, rubbed over with ruſty iron, firſt drying it by the heat of my body; and would wager any ſum that, without ſtriking the chain, link by link, with a hammer, no one, not in the ſecret, would have diſcovered this fracture.

The window was never ſtrictly examined; I, therefore, drew the two ſtaples by which the iron bars were fixed to the wall, and which I daily replaced, carefully plaſtering them over. I procured wire from Gefhardt, and tried how well I could imitate the inner grating: finding I ſucceeded tolerably, I cut the real grating totally away, and ſubſtituted an artificial one of my own fabricating, by which I obtained a free communication with the outſide, additional freſh air, together with all neceſſary implements, tinder and candles. That the light might not be ſeen, I hung the coverlid of my bed before the window, ſo that I could work fearleſs and undetected.

Every thing prepared, I went to work.

The

The floor of my dungeon was not of ſtone, but oak planks, three inches thick, three beds of which were laid croſswiſe, and were faſtened to each other by nails, half an inch in diameter, and a foot long. Having worked round the head of a nail, I made uſe of the hole at the end of the bar which ſeparated my hands, to draw it out, and this nail I ſharpened upon my tomb-ſtone into an excellent chiſel.

I now cut through the board more than an inch in width, that I might work downward; and having drawn away a piece of board which was inſerted two inches under the wall, I cut this ſo as exactly to fit: the ſmall crevice it occaſioned I ſtopped up with bread, and ſtrewed over with duſt, ſo as to prevent all ſuſpicious appearance. My labour under this was continued with leſs precaution, and I had ſoon worked through my nine-inch planks. Under them I came to a fine white ſand, on which the Star-Fort was built. My chips I carefully diſtributed beneath the boards. If I had not help from without, I could proceed no farther;

farther; for to dig were uſeleſs, unleſs I could rid myſelf of my rubbiſh. Gefhardt ſupplied me with ſome ells of cloth, of which I made long narrow bags, ſtuffed them with earth, and paſſed them between the iron bars to Gefhardt, who, as often as he was on guard, ſcattered or conveyed away their contents.

Furniſhed with room to ſecrete them under the floor, I obtained more inſtruments, together with a pair of piſtols, powder, ball, and a bayonet.

I now diſcovered that the foundation of my priſon, inſtead of two, was ſunken four feet deep. Time, labour, and patience, were all neceſſary to break out, unheard, and undiſcovered; but few things are impoſſible where reſolution is not wanting.

The hole I made was obliged to be four feet deep, correſponding with the foundation, and wide enough to kneel and ſtoop in: the lying down on the floor to work, the continual ſtooping to throw out the earth, the narrow ſpace in which all muſt be performed, theſe made the labour incredible;

credible; and, after this daily labour, all things were to be replaced, and my chains again reſumed, which alone required ſome hours to effect. My greateſt aid was in the wax candles, and light I had procured; but as Gefhardt ſtood centinel only once a fortnight, my work was much delayed: the centinels were forbidden to ſpeak to me under pain of death; and I was too fearful of being betrayed to dare to ſeek new aſſiſtance.

Being without a ſtove, I ſuffered much this winter from cold, yet my heart was cheerful, as I ſaw the probability of freedom; and all were aſtoniſhed to find me in ſuch good ſpirits.

Gefhardt alſo brought me ſupplies of proviſions, chiefly conſiſting of ſauſages and ſalt meats ready dreſſed, which increaſed my ſtrength; and when I was not digging I wrote ſatires and verſes: thus time was employed, and I contented, even in priſon.

Lulled into ſecurity, an accident happened, that will appear almoſt incredible,

and

and by which every hope was nearly fruſtrated.

Gefhardt had been working with me, and was relieved in the morning. As I was replacing the window, which I was obliged to remove on theſe occaſions, it fell out of my hand, and three of the glaſs panes were broken. Gefhardt was not to return till guard was again relieved; I had, therefore, no opportunity of ſpeaking with him, or concerting any mode of repair. I remained nearly an hour conjecturing and heſitating; for certainly, had the broken window been ſeen, as it was impoſſible I ſhould reach it when fettered, I ſhould immediately have been more rigidly examined, and the falſe grating muſt have been diſcovered.

I therefore came to a reſolution, and ſpoke to the centinel, who was amuſing himſelf with whiſtling, thus: "My good "fellow, have pity, not upon me, but "upon your comrades, who, ſhould you "refuſe, will certainly be executed: I will "throw you thirty piſtoles through the "window,

"window, if you will do me a ſmall fa-
"vour." He remained ſome moments ſilent, and at laſt anſwered, in a low voice, "What! have you money then?"—I immediately counted thirty piſtoles, and threw them through the window. He aſked to know what he was to do: I told my difficulty, and gave him the ſize of the panes in paper. The man, fortunately, was bold and prudent. The door of the paliſadoes, through the negligence of the officer, had not been ſhut that day: he prevailed on one of his comrades to ſtand centinel for him, during half an hour, while he, mean time, ran into the town, and procured the glaſs; on the receipt of which I inſtantly threw him ten more piſtoles. Before the hour of noon and viſitation came, every thing was once more reinſtated, my glazery performed to a miracle, and the life of my worthy Gefhardt preſerved!—Such is the power of money in this world! This is a very remarkable incident, for I never ſpoke after to the man who did me this ſignal ſervice.

Gefhardt's

Gefhardt's alarm may eaſily be imagined: he, ſome days after, returned to his poſt, and was the more aſtoniſhed, as he knew the centinel who had done me this good office; that he had five children, and was a man moſt to be depended on by his officers of any one in the whole grenadier company.

I now continued my labour, and found it very poſſible to break out under the foundation: but Gefhardt had been ſo terrified by the late accident, that he ſtarted a thouſand difficulties, in proportion as my end was more nearly accompliſhed; and, at the moment when I wiſhed to concert with him the means of flight, he perſiſted it was neceſſary to find additional help to eſcape in ſafety, and not bring both him and myſelf to deſtruction.—At length we came to the following determination; which, however, after eight months' inceſſant labour paſt, rendered my whole project abortive.

I wrote once more to Ruckhardt, at Vienna; ſent him a new aſſignment for money,

money, and desired he would again repair to Gummern, where he should wait six several nights, with two spare horses, on the glacis of Klosterbergen, at the time appointed, every thing being prepared for flight. Within these six days, Gefhardt would have found means, either in rotation, or by exchanging the guard, to have been with me. Alas! the sweet hope of again beholding the face of the sun, of once more obtaining my freedom, endured but three days: Providence thought proper otherwise to ordain. Gefhardt sent his wife to Gummern with the letter, and this silly woman told the post-master her husband had a lawsuit at Vienna, that, therefore, she begged he would take particular care of the letter; for which purpose she slipped ten six-doilars into his hand.

This unexpected liberality raised the suspicions of the Saxon post-master, who, therefore, opened the letter, read the contents, and instead of sending it to Vienna, or, at least, to the general post-master at Dresden,

Dreſden, he preferred the traitorous act of taking it himſelf to the governor of Magdeburg, who then, as at preſent, was prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick.

What were my terrors, what my deſpair, when I beheld the prince himſelf, about three o'clock in the afternoon, enter my priſon, with his attendants, preſent my letter, and aſk, in an authoritative voice, who had carried it to Gummern.—My anſwer was, I knew not. Strict ſearch was immediately made, by ſmiths, carpenters, and maſons; and, after half an hour's examination, they diſcovered neither my hole, nor the manner in which I diſencumbered myſelf of my chains; they only ſaw that the middle grating, in the aperture where the light was admitted, had been removed. This was boarded up the next day, and only a ſmall air-hole left, of about ſix inches diameter.

The prince began to threaten; I perſiſted I had never ſeen the centinel who had rendered me this ſervice, nor aſked his name. Seeing his attempts all ineffectual,

the governor, in a milder tone, ſaid, "You "have ever complained, baron Trenck, of "not having hitherto been legally ſentenced, "or heard in your own defence; I give "you my word of honour this you ſhall "be, and, alſo, that you ſhall be releaſed "from your fetters, if you will only tell me "who took your letter." To this I replied with all the fortitude of innocence, ——"Every body knows, my lord, I have "never deſerved the treatment I have met "with in my country. My heart is irre-"proachable. I ſeek to recover my liberty "by every means in my power; but were "I capable of betraying the man whoſe "compaſſion has induced him to ſuccour "my diſtreſs,—were I the coward that "could purchaſe happineſs at his expence, "I then ſhould, indeed, deſerve to wear "theſe chains with which I am loaded. "For myſelf, do with me what you pleaſe; "yet remember I am not wholly deſtitute, "I am ſtill a captain in the imperial ſer-"vice, and a deſcendant of the houſe of "Trenck."

Prince

Prince Ferdinand ſtood, for a moment, unable to anſwer, then renewed his threats, and left my dungeon. I have been ſince told that, when he was out of hearing, he ſaid to thoſe round him, "I pity his hard "fate, and cannot but admire his ſtrength "of mind!"

I muſt here remark that, when we remember the uſual circumſpection of this great man, we are obliged to wonder at his imprudence in holding a converſation of ſuch a kind with me, which laſted a conſiderable time, in the preſence of the guard. The ſoldiers of the whole garriſon had afterward the utmoſt confidence, as they were convinced I would not meanly devote others to deſtruction, that I might benefit myſelf. This was the way to gain me eſteem and intercourſe among the men, eſpecially as the duke had ſaid he knew I muſt have money concealed, for that I had diſtributed ſome to the centinels.

He had ſcarcely been gone an hour, before I heard a noiſe near my priſon. I liſtened—What could it be? I heard talk-

ing, and learned a grenadier had hanged himſelf to the paliſadoes of my priſon!

The officer of the guard, and the town-major, again entered my dungeon, to fetch a lantern they had forgotten; and the officer, at going out, told me, in a whiſper, "One of your aſſociates has juſt hanged "himſelf."

It is impoſſible to impart my terror or ſenſations; I believed it could be only my kind, my honeſt Gefhardt. After many gloomy thoughts, and lamenting the unhappy end of ſo worthy a fellow, I began to recollect what the prince had promiſed me, if I would diſcover my accomplice. I knocked at the door, deſired to ſpeak to the officer; he came to the window, and aſked what I wanted? I requeſted he would inform the governor that, if he would ſend me light, pen, ink, and paper, I would diſcover my whole ſecret.

Theſe were accordingly ſent; an hour's time was granted; the door was ſhut, and I left alone. I ſat myſelf down, began to write on my night-table, and was about to

inſert the name of Gefhardt, but my blood thrilled, and ſhrunk back to my heart. I ſhuddered, roſe, went to the aperture of the window, and called, "Is there no man who, "in compaſſion, will tell me the name of "him who has hanged himſelf, that I may "deliver many others from deſtruction?" The window was not nailed up till the next day; I therefore wrapped five piſtoles in a paper, threw them out, called to the centinel, and ſaid, "Friend, take theſe, and "ſave thy comrades; or, go, betray me, and "bring down innocent blood upon thy "head!"

The paper was taken up; a pauſe of ſilence enſued; I heard ſighs, and preſently after, a low voice ſaid, "His name is "Schütz, he belonged to the company of "Ripps."——I had never heard the name before, or known the man; but I, however, immediately wrote Schütz, inſtead of Gefhardt. Having finiſhed the letter, I called the lieutenant, who took that and the light away, and again barred up the door of my dungeon. The duke, however, ſuſpected

there muſt be ſome colluſion, and every thing remained in the ſame ſtate; I obtained neither hearing nor court-martial. I learned, in the ſequel, the following circumſtances, which will diſplay the truth of this apparently incredible ſtory.

While I was impriſoned in the citadel, a centinel came to the poſt under my window, curſed and blaſphemed, exclaimed aloud—"Damn the Pruſſian ſervice! If Trenck "only knew my mind, he would not long "continue in his infernal hole!" I entered into diſcourſe with him, and he told me if I could give him money to purchaſe a boat, in which he might croſs the Elbe, he would ſoon make my doors fly open, and ſet me free.

Money at that time I had none; but I gave him a diamond ſhirt buckle, worth five hundred florins, which I had concealed. I never heard more from this man; he ſpoke to me no more. He often ſtood centinel over me, which I knew by his Weſtphalian dialect; and I as often addreſſed myſelf

myſelf to him, but ineffectually, he would make no anſwer.

This Schütz muſt have ſold my buckle, and let his riches be ſeen; for, when the duke left me, the lieutenant on guard ſaid to him—" You muſt certainly be the raſcal " who carried Trenck's letter; you have, " for ſome time paſt, ſpent much money, " and we have ſeen you with louis-d'ors. " How came you by them?" Schütz was terrified; his conſcience accuſed him; he imagined I ſhould betray him, knowing he had deceived me. He, therefore, in the firſt agonies of deſpair, came to the paliſadoes, and hung himſelf before the door of my dungeon.

How wonderful is the hand of Providence! The wicked man fell a ſacrifice to his crime, after having eſcaped a whole year, and the faithful, the benevolent-hearted Gefhardt, was thereby ſaved.

The centinels were now doubted, that any intercourſe with them might be rendered more difficult. Gefhardt again ſtood guard, but he had ſcarcely opportu-

nity, without danger, to ſpeak a few words: he thanked me for having preſerved him, wiſhed me better fortune, and told me the garriſon in a few days would take the field.

This was dreadful news: my whole plan was deſtroyed at a breath. I, however, ſoon recovered freſh hopes. The hole I had ſunken was not diſcovered: I had five hundred florins, candles, and implements.

The ſeven-years war broke out about a week after, and the regiments took the field. Major Weyner came, for the laſt time, and committed me to the care of the new major of the militia, Bruckhauſen, who was one of the moſt ſurly and ſtupid of men. I ſhall often have occaſion to mention this man.

All the majors and lieutenants of the guard, who had treated me with compaſſion and eſteem, now departed; and I became an old priſoner in a new world. I acquired greater confidence, however, by remembering that both officers and men in the militia

were

were much eaſier to gain over than in the regulars; the truth of which opinion was ſoon confirmed to me.

Four lieutenants were appointed, with their men, to mount guard at the Star-Fort in turn; and, before a year had paſſed, three of them were in my intereſt.

The regiments had ſcarcely taken the field ere the new governor, general Borck, entered my priſon like what he was, an imperious, cruel tyrant. The king, in giving him the command, had informed him he muſt anſwer for my perſon with his head; he therefore had full power to treat me with whatever ſeverity he pleaſed.

Borck was a ſtupid man, of an unfeeling heart, the ſlave of deſpotic orders, and, as often as he thought it poſſible I might rid myſelf of my fetters, and eſcape, his heart palpitated with fear. In addition to this, he conſidered me as the vileſt of men and traitors, ſeeing his king had condemned me to impriſonment ſo cruel; and his barbarity toward me was thus the effect of

character, and meanneſs of ſoul. He entered my dungeon, not as an officer to viſit a brother officer in miſery, but as an executioner to a felon. Smiths then made their appearance, and a monſtrous iron collar, of a hand's breadth, was put round my neck, and connected with the chains of the feet by additional heavy links; as may be ſeen in the plate. My window was walled up, except a ſmall air-hole. He even, at length, took away my bed, gave me no ſtraw, and quitted me with a thouſand revilings on the empreſs-queen, her whole army, and myſelf. In words, however, I was little in his debt; and he was enraged even to madneſs.

What my ſituation was under this additional load of tyranny, and the command of a man ſo void of human pity, the reader muſt imagine. My greateſt good fortune conſiſted in the ability I ſtill had to diſencumber myſelf of all the irons that were connected with the ancle-rims, and the proviſion I had of light, paper, and implements;

ments; and though it was, apparently, impoſſible I ſhould break out undiſcovered by both centinels, yet had I the remaining hope of gaining ſome officer, by money, who, as in Glatz, ſhould aſſiſt my eſcape.

Had the commands of the king been literally obeyed, eſcape would have been wholly impoſſible; for, by this, all communication would have been cut totally off with the centinels. To this effect the four keys of the four doors were each to be kept by different perſons; one with the governor, another with the town-major, the third with the major of the day, and the fourth with the lieutenant of the guard. I never could have found opportunity to have ſpoken with any one of them ſingly. Theſe commands, at firſt, were rigidly obſerved, with this exception, that the governor made his appearance only every week. Magdeburg became ſo full of priſoners, that the town-major was obliged to deliver up his key to the major of the day, and the governor's viſitations wholly ſub-

ſided, the citadel being an Engliſh mile and a half diſtant from the Star-Fort.

General Walrabe*, who had been a priſoner ever ſince the year 1746, was alſo at the Star-Fort, but he had apartments, and three thouſand rix-dollars a year. The major of the day and the officers of the guard dined with him daily, and generally ſtaid till evening. Either from compaſſion, or a concurrence of fortunate circumſtances, theſe gentlemen entruſted the keys to the lieutenant on guard, by which means I

* Walrave (or Walrabe) had long been ſuſpected of partiality to Auſtria, he being a bigotted catholic. He was at length betrayed by a miſtreſs, for whoſe huſband (for ſhe was married) he had obtained the dignity of counſellor. Frederic, when he granted the title, told Walrave it certainly became the miſtreſs of a general to have a counſellor for a huſband. He was ſuperintendant of the fortifications, and was confined, not, according to Fiſcher, in 1746, but in 1748, in a priſon himſelf had built at Magdeburg. T.

See Fiſcher Geſchichte Fried. II. Theil I. S. 265.

could

could ſpeak with each of them alone when they made their viſit, and they themſelves, at length, ſought theſe opportunities. My conſequent undertakings I ſhall relate with all brevity, that I may not fatigue the reader with all the arts and inventions of a wretched priſoner endeavouring to eſcape.

Borck had ſelected three majors and four lieutenants only for this ſervice, as thoſe he beſt could truſt. My ſituation was truly deplorable. The enormous iron round my neck pained me, and prevented motion; and I durſt not attempt to diſengage myſelf from the pendent chains till I had, for ſome months, carefully obſerved the mode of their examination, and which parts they ſuppoſed were perfectly ſecure. The cruelty of depriving me of my bed was ſtill greater: I was obliged to ſit upon the bare ground, and lean with my head againſt the damp wall. The chains that deſcended from the neck-collar were obliged to be ſupported firſt with one hand, and then with the other; for, if thrown behind, they would have ſtrangled me, and, if hanging

forward, occaſioned moſt exceſſive head-achs. The bar between my hands held one down while leaning on my elbow; I ſupported with the other my chains; and this ſo benumbed the muſcles and prevented circulation, that I could perceive my arms ſenſibly waſte away. The little ſleep I could have in ſuch a ſituation may eaſily be ſuppoſed; and, at length, body and mind ſunk under this accumulation of miſerable ſuffering, and I fell ill of a burning fever.

The tyrant Borck was inexorable; he wiſhed to expedite my death, and rid himſelf of his troubles and his terrors. Here did I experience what was the lamentable condition of a ſick priſoner, without bed, refreſhment, or aid from human being. Reaſon, fortitude, heroiſm, all the noble qualities of the mind, decay when the corporeal faculties are diſeaſed; and the remembrance of my ſufferings, at this dreadful moment, ſtill agitates, ſtill inflames, my blood, ſo as almoſt to prevent an attempt to deſcribe what they were.

Yet

Yet hope had not totally forſaken me. Deliverance ſeemed poſſible, eſpecially ſhould peace enſue; and I ſuſtained, perhaps what mortal man never bore, except myſelf, being, as I was, provided with piſtols, or any ſuch immediate mode of diſpatch.

I continued ill about two months, and was ſo reduced, at laſt, that I had ſcarcely ſtrength to lift the water-jug to my mouth. What muſt the ſufferings of that man be who ſits two months on the bare ground in a dungeon ſo damp, ſo dark, ſo horrible, without bed or ſtraw, his limbs loaded as mine were, with no refreſhment but dry ammunition-bread, without ſo much as a drop of broth, without phyſic, without conſoling friend, and who, under all theſe afflictions, muſt truſt, for his tecovery, to the efforts of nature alone!

Sickneſs itſelf is ſufficient to humble the mightieſt mind; what then is ſickneſs, with ſuch addition of torment? The burning fever, the violent head-achs, my neck ſwelled and inflamed with the irons, enraged

me

me almoſt to madneſs. The fever, and the fetters, together, flayed my body ſo that it appeared like one continued wound——— Enough! Enough!—The malefactor extended living on the wheel, to whom the cruel executioner refuſes the laſt ſtroke, the blow of death, muſt yet, in ſome ſhort period, expire: he ſuffers nothing I did not then ſuffer, and theſe my excruciating pangs continued two dreadful months———Yet, can it be ſuppoſed? There came a day!——A day of horror, when theſe mortal pangs were, beyond imagination, increaſed! I ſat, ſcorched with this intolerable fever, in which nature and death were contending, and, when attempting to quench my burning entrails with cold water, the jug dropped from my feeble hands, and broke! I had four-and-twenty hours to remain without water. So intolerable, ſo devouring, was my thirſt, I could have drank human blood! Ay, in my madneſs, had it been the blood of my father!

* * * * * *

Willingly would I have ſeiſed my piſtols, but

but ſtrength had forſaken me; I could not open the place I was obliged to render ſo ſecure.

My viſitors, next day, ſuppoſed me gone at laſt—I lay motionleſs, with my tongue out of my mouth. They poured water down my throat, and found life.

Oh God! Oh God! How pure, how delicious, how exquiſite, was this water!—My inſatiable thirſt ſoon emptied the jug; they filled it anew, bade me farewell, hoped death would ſoon relieve my mortal ſufferings, and departed.

The lamentable ſtate in which I lay, at length, became ſo much the ſubject of general converſation, that all the ladies of the town united with the officers, and prevailed on the tyrant, Borck, to reſtore me my bed.

Oh Nature! what are thy operations! From the day I drank water in ſuch exceſs I gathered ſtrength, and, to the aſtoniſhment of every one, ſoon recovered. I had moved the heart of the officer who inſpected my priſon; and, after ſix months, ſix

cruel

cruel months, of added miſery, the day of hope again began to dawn.

One of the majors of the day entruſted his key to lieutenant Sonntag, who came alone, ſpoke in confidence, and related his own ſituation, complained of his debts, his poverty, his neceſſities; and I made him a preſent of twenty-five louis-d'ors, for which he was ſo grateful that our friendſhip became unſhaken.

The three lieutenants all commiſerated me, and would ſit hours with me, when a certain major had the inſpection; and he himſelf, after a time, would even paſs half the day with me. He, too, was poor; and I gave him a draft for three thouſand florins: hence new projects took birth.

Money became neceſſary; I had diſperſed all I poſſeſſed, a hundred florins excepted, among the officers. The eldeſt ſon of captain K——n, who officiated as major, had been caſhiered: his father complained to me of his diſtreſs, and I ſent him to my ſiſter, not far from Berlin, from whom he received a hundred ducats. He returned,

and

and related her joy at hearing from me. He found her exceedingly ill; and she informed me, in a few lines, that my misfortunes, and the treachery of Weingarten, had entailed poverty upon her, and an illness which had endured more than two years. She wished me a happy deliverance from my chains, and, in expectation of death, committed her children to my protection. She, however, grew better, and married a second time, colonel Pape; but died in the year 1758. I shall forbear to relate her history; it indeed does no honour to the ashes of Frederic, and would but less dispose my own heart to forgiveness, by reviving the memory of her oppressions and griefs.

K——n returned happy with the money; all things were concerted with the father. I wrote to the countess Bestuchef, also to the Grand Duke, afterwards Peter III. recommended the young soldier, and entreated every possible succour for myself.

K——n departed, through Hamburg, for Petersburg, where, in consequence of

my

my recommendation, he became a captain, and in a ſhort time a major. He took his meaſures ſo well, that I, by the intervention of his father, and a Hamburg merchant, received two thouſand rubles from the counteſs, while the ſervice he rendered me made his own fortune in Ruſſia.

To old K——n, who was as poor as he was honeſt, I gave three hundred ducats; and he, till death, continued my grateful friend. I diſtributed nearly as much to the other officers; and matters proceeded ſo far, that lieutenant Glotin gave back the keys to the major without locking my priſon, himſelf paſſing half the night with me. Money was given to the guard to drink; and thus every thing ſucceeded to my wiſh, and the tyrant Borck was deceived. I had a ſupply of light; had books, newſpapers, and my days paſſed ſwiftly away. I read, I wrote, I buſied myſelf ſo thoroughly that I almoſt forgot I was a priſoner.—When indeed the ſurly, dull blockhead, major Bruckhauſen, had the inſpection, every thing muſt be carefully reinſtated.

Major

Major Z——, the ſecond of the three, was alſo wholly mine. He was particularly attached to me; for I had promiſed to marry his daughter, and, ſhould I die in priſon, bequeathed him a legacy of ten thouſand florins.

Lieutenant Sonntag got falſe hand-cuffs made for me, that were ſo wide I could eaſily draw my hands out; the lieutenants only examined my irons; the new hand-cuffs were made perfectly ſimilar to the old, and Bruckhauſen had too much ſtupidity to remark any difference.

The remainder of my chains, I could diſencumber myſelf of at pleaſure. When I exerciſed myſelf, I held them in my hands, that the centinels might be deceived by their clanking. The neck iron was the only one I durſt not remove; it was, likewiſe, too ſtrongly rivetted. I filed through the upper link of the pendant chain however, by which means I could take it off, and this I concealed with bread in the manner before mentioned.

So could I diſencumber myſelf of moſt

of

of my fetters, and ſleep at eaſe. I again obtained ſauſages and cold meat, and thus my ſituation, bad as it ſtill was, became leſs miſerable.—Liberty, ſtill, however, was moſt deſirable: but, alas! not one of the three lieutenants had the courage of a Schell: Saxony too was in the hands of the Pruſſians, and flight, therefore, more dangerous.—Perſuaſion was in vain, with men determined to riſk nothing, but, if they went, to go in ſafety. Will, indeed, was not wanting in Glotin and Sonntag; but the firſt was a poltroon, and the latter a man of ſcruples, who likewiſe thought this ſtep might be the ruin of his brother in Berlin.

The centinels were doubled, therefore my eſcape through my hole, which had been two years dug, could not, unperceived by them, be effected; ſtill leſs could I, in face of the guard, clamber the twelve-feet high paliſadoes. The following labour therefore, though Herculean, was undertaken.

Lieutenant Sonntag, meaſuring the interval between the hole I had dug and the entrance of the gallery in the principal rampart,

rampart, found it to be thirty-ſeven feet. Into this, it was poſſible, I might, by mining, penetrate. The difficulty of the enterpriſe was leſſened by the nature of the ground, a fine white ſand.—Could I reach the gallery my freedom was certain. I had been informed how many ſteps to the right or left muſt be taken, to find the door that led to the ſecond rampart: and, on the day when I ſhould be ready for flight, the officer was, ſecretly, to leave this door open. I had light, and mining tools, and I was further to rely on money and my own diſcretion.

I began and continued this labour about ſix months. I have already noticed the difficulty of ſcraping out the earth with my hands. The noiſe of inſtruments would have been heard by the centinels; I had ſcarcely mined beyond my dungeon-wall before I diſcovered the foundation of the rampart was not more than a foot deep; a capital error, certainly, in ſo important a fortreſs. My labour became the lighter, as I could remove the foundation ſtones of my dungeon,

dungeon, and was not obliged to mine ſo deep.

My work, at firſt, proceeded ſo rapidly, that, while I had room to throw back my ſand, I was able, in one night, to gain three feet; but ere I had proceeded ten feet I diſcovered all my difficulties. Before I could continue my work, I was obliged to make room for myſelf, by emptying the ſand out of my hole upon the floor of the priſon, and this itſelf was an employment of ſome hours. The ſand was obliged to be thrown out by the hand, and, after it thus lay heaped in my priſon, muſt be again returned into the hole: and I have calculated that, after I had proceeded twenty feet, I was obliged to creep under ground, in my hole, from fifteen hundred to two thouſand fathoms, within twenty-four hours, in the removal and replacing of the ſand. This labour ended, care was to be taken that, in none of the crevices of the floor, there might be any appearance of this fine white ſand. The flooring was next to

be

be exactly replaced, and my chains to be resumed. So severe was the fatigue of one day, in this mode, that I was always obliged to rest the three following.

To reduce my labour as much as possible, I was constrained to make the passage so small that my body only had space to pass, and I had not room to draw my arm back to my head. The work too must all be done naked, otherwise the dirtiness of my shirt must have been remarked: the sand was wet, water being found at the depth of four feet, where the stratum of gravel began. At length the expedient of sand-bags occurred to me, by which it might be removed out and in more expeditiously. I obtained linen from the officers, but not in sufficient quantities; suspicions would have been excited at observing so much linen brought into the prison. At last I took my sheets, and the ticking that inclosed my straw, and cut them up for sand-bags, taking care to lie down on my bed, as if ill, when Bruckhausen paid his visits.

The labour, toward the conclusion, be-

came ſo intolerable, as to incite deſpondency. I frequently ſat contemplating the heaps of ſand, during a momentary reſpite from work, and, thinking it impoſſible I could have ſtrength or time again to replace all things as they were, reſolving patiently to wait the conſequence, and leave every thing in its preſent diſorder. No; I can aſſure the reader that, to effect concealment, I have ſcarcely had time, in twenty-four hours, to ſit down and eat a morſel of bread.—Recollecting, however, the prodigious efforts, and all the progreſs I had made, hope would again revive, and exhauſted ſtrength return; again would I begin my labours, that I might preſerve my ſecret and my expectations: yet has it frequently happened that my viſitors have entered a few minutes after I had reinſtated every thing in its place.

When my work was within ſix or ſeven feet of being accompliſhed, a new misfortune happened, that at once fruſtrated all further attempts. I worked, as I have ſaid, under the foundation of the rampart, near where the centinels ſtood. I could diſencumber

cumber myſelf of my fetters, except my neck-collar and its pendent chain. This, as I worked, though it had been faſtened, got looſe, and the clanking was heard by one of the centinels about fifteen feet from my dungeon. The officer was called, they laid their ears to the ground, and heard me as I went backward and forward to bring my earth bags. This was reported the next day, and the major, who was my beſt friend, with the town-major, and a ſmith and maſon, entered my priſon. I was terrified. The lieutenant, by a ſign, gave me to underſtand I was diſcovered. An examination was begun, but the officers would not ſee, and the ſmith and maſon found every thing, as they thought, ſafe. Had they examined my bed, they would have ſeen the ticking and ſheets were gone.

The town-major was a dull man, was perſuaded the thing was impoſſible, and ſaid to the centinel, "Blockhead! You have "heard ſome mole under ground, and not "Trenck. How, indeed, could it be that "he ſhould work under ground at ſuch a

" diſtance from his dungeon?" Here the ſcrutiny ended.

There was now no time for delay. Had they altered their hour of coming, they muſt have found me at work; but this, during ten years, never happened, for the governor and town-major were ſtupid men; and the others, wiſhing me all ſucceſs, were wilfully blind. In a few days I could have broken out; but, when ready, I was deſirous to wait for the viſitation-day of the man who had treated me ſo tyrannically, Bruckhauſen, that his own negligence might be evident. But this man, though he wanted underſtanding, did not want good fortune. He was ill for ſome time, and his duty devolved on K——.

He recovered, and the viſitation being over, the doors were no ſooner barred than I began my ſuppoſed laſt labour. I had only three feet farther to proceed, and it was no longer neceſſary I ſhould bring out the ſand, having room enough to throw it behind me. What my anxiety was, what my exertions were, may well be imagined.

My

My evil genius, however, had decreed that the ſame centinel, who had heard me before, ſhould be that day on guard. He was piqued, by vanity, to prove he was not the blockhead he had been called: he, therefore, again laid his ear to the ground, and again heard me burrowing. He called his comrades firſt, next the major: he came, and heard me likewiſe; accordingly they went without the paliſadoes, and heard me working near the door, at which place I was to break into the gallery. This door they immediately opened, entered the gallery with lanthorns, and waited to catch the hunted fox, when unearthed.

Through the firſt ſmall breach I made I perceived a light, and ſaw the heads of thoſe who were expecting me. This was, indeed, a thunder ſtroke!—I crept back, made my way through the ſand I had caſt behind me, and waited my fate with ſhuddering! I had ſtill the preſence of mind to conceal my piſtols, candles, paper, and ſome money, under the floor, which I could

could remove.—The money was diſpoſed of in various holes, well concealed, alſo between the pannels of the doors; and under different cracks in the floor I hid my ſmall files and knives.

END OF VOL. I.

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